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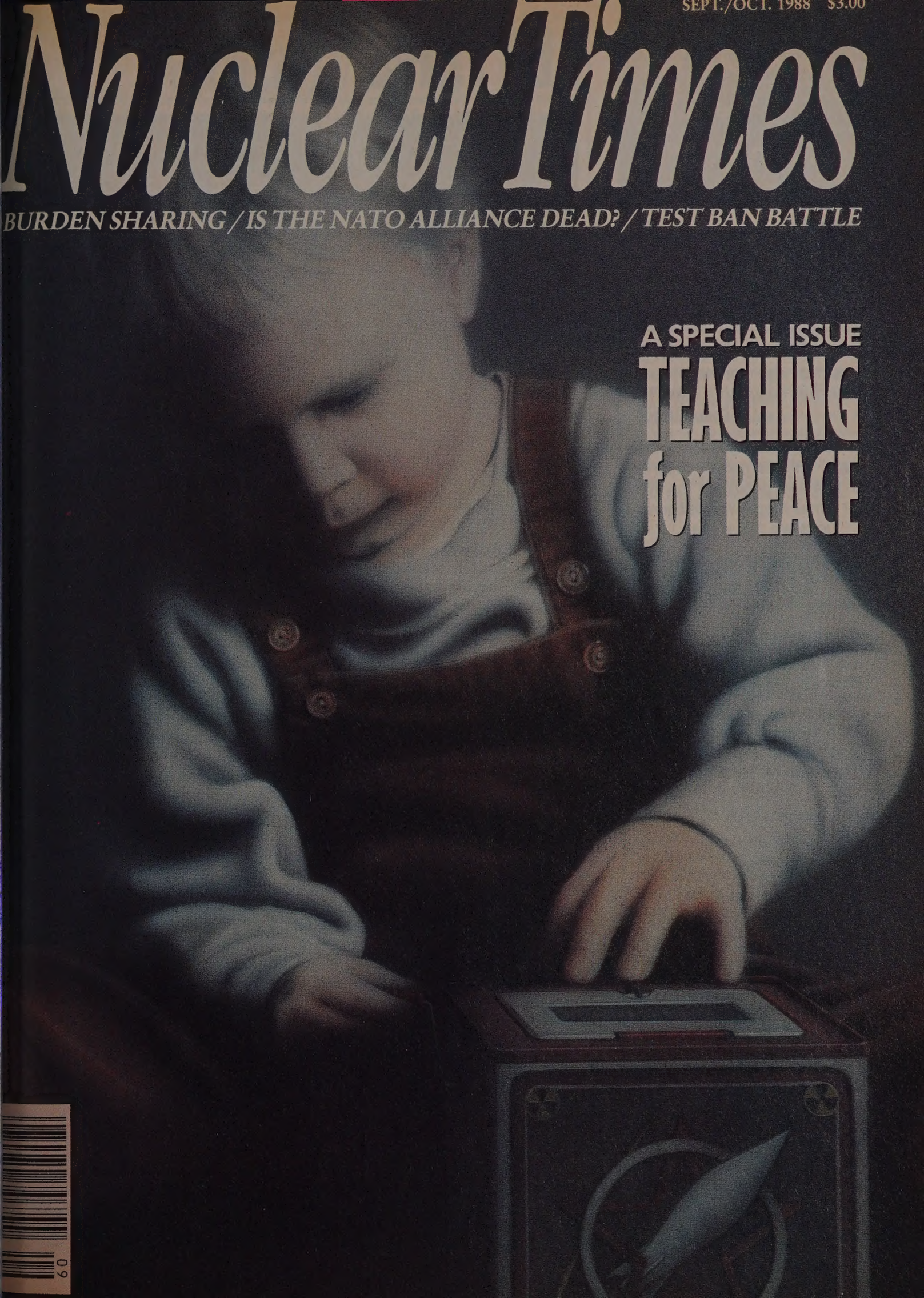

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LETTERS

The Next President

I enjoyed your article ["After Reagan," March/April 1988] on several policy-transition projects, including the Democracy Project's *Blueprints for America: Transition '89*. But I need to point out one area of misunderstanding: you reported that *Transition '89* "is explicitly designed for a Democratic administration." In fact, the Democracy Project will give a copy of the report to whoever wins in November. We are confident that the next occupant of the White House will benefit greatly from our policy suggestions, regardless of which party he belongs to.

Mark Green, President
Democracy Project
New York, New York

Defining Deterrence

In a May/June 1988 "Dispatch" about the Ground Wave Emergency Network (GWEN) system, Stephen J. Simurda writes: "Community activists argue that the network would not function as a deterrent. They say the system is designed to survive a nuclear attack and enable the president to give orders for a retaliatory strike."

Either something got lost in the editing, or someone doesn't understand deterrence. The very basis of nuclear deterrence is the maintenance of a survivable second-strike retaliatory capability.

Roger S. Powers
Brooklyn, New York

Spaced Out

It is unfortunate that your article on alternative space policy in the May/June issue devoted only one line to Robert Mrazek's (D-N.Y.) bill, HR 4036, The International Security and Satellite Monitoring Act of 1988. Unlike the one-shot, budget-buster "mission to Mars," Mrazek's bill calling for a U.S. commission to study an international satellite monitoring agency (ISMA) offers the peace movement a truly progressive new space policy to support as an alternative to SDI.

As you pointed out, the original 1978 U.N. proposal for a cooperative ISMA for arms control and ecological safety won wide support internationally. HR 4036 is designed to promote support within the United States for the cooperative use of space for peacekeeping and environmental protection. It points to the new global community we must build for the 21st c tury and focuses on *freedom* of infor tion—something the United States sho be protecting.

The "Peacesat" concept, based on ISMA and incorporated into the Mra bill, has already won significant grassr backing. It was included in the strat document adopted at the SANE/FRE congress last winter and in the model p form of the Peace and Environm Project, which has been endorsed by m than 50 grassroots organizations.

With the right changes in *overall* U space policy, the aerospace industry take care of converting itself. The pe movement's role must be to lead, with r and positive policy ideas that really fit primary concern with suffering and danger to life on earth.

Susan C. Strong, Chairper
Northern California SANE/FREE
San Francisco, Califor

The contention that converting resour from the military to "earthbound pul works" is "radical" ("A Common Spac May/June 1988) is ridiculous. Clean wa competent waste disposal and a first-r transportation network are the bedrock modern industrial society. Indeed, the n for a long-overdue substantial investm in infrastructure maintenance and mode ization is recognized by leading busin publications and elected officials, as wel prominent policy analysts, including Choate, director of policy analysis at TR Inc.—a major military contractor.

The suggestion by the Institute for Se rity and Cooperation in Outer Sp (ISCOS) that alternative space projects pursued with the billions of dollars re rected from the military budget so that aerospace industry "with its hundreds thousands of workers, stockholders a bureaucratic allies" might not resist i transparent scheme for pursuing pu policy through political ransom. This is act of political cowardice and a violation the public trust. An objective of milita to-civilian economic conversion should to rehabilitate military contractors to p duce reliable cost-competitive produ This will not be accomplished by conti ing massive subsidies at taxpayer expens

Robert Krinsky, Program Direc
National Commission
Economic Conversion & Disarmam
Washington, D

(Continued on page

)L. 7, NO. 1

NuclearTimes

SEPT./OCT. 1988

sting in Nevada: A new coalition calls for a comprehensive ban. Page 12

PECIAL ISSUE

eas that Work
Kristin Matz

0 Options gets professors out of the classroom and into the community.

hat Are We Teaching Our Kids?
Miranda Spencer

6 Elementary and secondary school peace educators and their right-wing tics debate what peace education ould and shouldn't be.

ace Studies Comes of Age
John Feffer

2 More than 300 colleges now offer peace studies courses. Has success nsformed it into just another academic oject?

sources
3 Short reviews of peace education books, guides and publications.

EPARTMENTS

tters
Readers discuss peace in space, Jesse Jackson, the United Nations, and WEN and the meaning of deterrence.

spatches
Big rally in New York, END splits, the Canadian election and nuclear subs, erilla theater on the high seas.

Grassroots
By Mel Friedman

12 A new coalition pushes for a comprehensive test ban treaty.

Alternative Security
By David Moberg

26 The "burden sharing" controversy. Should Europe pay more of the NATO bill, or can we decrease defense spending overall?

Research & Analysis
By Robert Schaeffer

29 Foreign policy experts are calling for the dismantling of NATO.

Network
34 SANE/FREEZE "tells the truth" about George Bush, PSR broadens the concept of national security, WAND builds ties with Soviet citizens, ESR looks at the teaching of economics, ADPSR's new West Michigan chapter, AFSC's Atlanta chapter fights apartheid.

Calendar
39 Selected actions, lectures and workshops in September and October.

Deadline
Edited by Lee Feinstein

Insert: Peter Reddaway on the coverage of the Soviet Party Conference.

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for the sake of the children . . .

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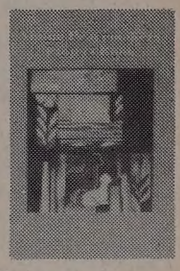
Kathleen Fry-Miller
Judith Myers-Walls



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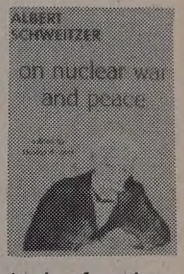

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LETTERS/Continued from page 2

Your article on the peaceful uses of sp is correct in stating that space is place for weapons. Unfortunately, the S ets have not gotten the message.

Last year, for instance, the Sov launched 95 missions, compared to c eight by the United States. Most of th missions had clear military objectives addition, the Soviets have tested and ployed an effective anti-satellite syst They have invested heavily in space-ba directed energy weapons, including la and particle beam weapons, and are kn to have used these weapons against Am can satellites as early as 1975.

Three of the early Salyut space stati were launched strictly as military p forms, and the current Salyut and Mir tions are known to have at least some m tary applications. The new Soviet shut like its American counterpart, will ser variety of military and scientific purpos

While budget figures remain elusive, believed that the Soviets spent nearly billion on military space systems during last decade—more than any other nati Their annual space budget has climbed some $30-35 billion, with as much as percent going into military systems.

Hiding the facts will not remove the v real threat posed by the Soviet milit space program. The best way to "M Space for Peace" is to insist that both si renounce the use of space weapons.

Ron Maggi
San Diego, Califor

The editors reply: The Soviets have c tributed to the militarization of space, Maggiano's comparisons are misleadi First, the Soviets conduct more launc because their success rate is abysmally l more than half their satellites fail withi few months (U.S. satellites have a lifes of 6-10 years). Similarly, the Soviets' m tary space budget is somewhat higher t ours largely because they get less "ba for their rubles.

Second, militarization is not syno mous with "weaponization." Many m tary purposes of both superpowers' sp missions—including verification, comm nications and regional crisis monitoring are benign or even stabilizing.

As for actual weapons, the Soviets h deployed what Western analysts believe be an extremely ineffective anti-satell (ASAT) system. (That it has been us against U.S. satellites has never been c firmed.) They have not tested any impro ments to the system since declaring a u lateral moratorium on ASAT testing

12. More important, the Soviets have of-
ed to dismantle their ASATs in exchange
a negotiated agreement banning space
apons on both sides.

hy Not Jesse?

n deeply distressed to the point of fury
iat Jesse Jackson has been betrayed and
down by the peace movement [see
ssing Up Jesse," July/August 1988].
wonder: "What does the peace move-
nt want?" What do we white, presum-
y liberal, peace-concerned people re-
re in a presidential candidate that Jesse
kson did not embody and express so
quently and so authentically?

Dorothy Mock
Pisgah Forest, North Carolina

hy is it that the peace movement, in-
cluding *Nuclear Times*, assumes that
only reason not to support Jesse Jack-
is because he is black, and that activist
1-Jackson supporters are racist? If a
ite Southern preacher with no experi-
e in politics claiming to represent the
nmon man were to run for president, I
uld not support him or her either.

Andy J. Perrin
Brookline, Massachusetts

ebuilding the U.N.

any thanks for publishing the July/Au-
gust "alternative security" articles on
s toward replacing our international
rchy with international law and order.
Robert Johansen's article recommends
ater peacekeeping functions for a stron-
U.N. "police force" and a U.N. moni-
ng agency. But he fails to note that the
y acceptable function of *police* is to en-
ce generally respected laws, not arbi-
y political power. Before a U.N. police
ce can expect to deter national use of
ce, there must be general agreement on
st and equitable framework of "law and
er" for it to enforce—a framework that
give confidence to nations that their
rests will be better served by the U.N.
n by their own use of force.
This is why the Arthur Macy Cox-
orgi Arbatov group proposals for ending
Cold War and achieving "stable coexis-
ce," including rules for ending unilateral
ign interventions, are so important.
y would make possible a reassertion of
U.N. Security Council's authority, lay-
the groundwork for a generally accept-
international law that *could* be en-
ced by a stronger U.N. police force.

John S. Atlee
Silver Spring, Maryland

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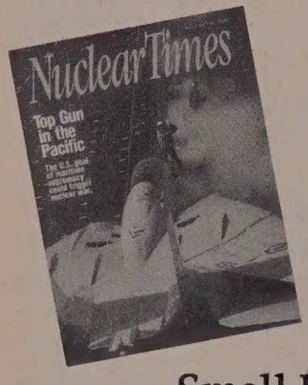

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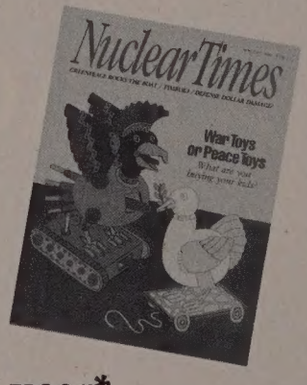

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Nuclear Times (ISSN 0734-5836) is publish six times per year by Nuclear Times, Inc., 1 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, DC 200 (202) 332-9222. U.S. subscription rate is $21 year. Mexico and Canada, add $5 per year postage; other countries, add $17 for air only. Bulk rates apply. Please refer to acco number at top of mailing label when c responding about subscriptions. Unsolici manuscripts, photographs, and artwork are w come and must be accompanied by a stamp self-addressed envelope. The magazine can be held responsible for loss of or damage unsolicited materials.

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DISPATCHES

' RALLY:),000 I: ZERO

: THAN 60,000 PEOPLE ıed through the streets of York and rallied in Cen- ark on June 11 to protest ıuclear arms race. The which brought together eace, labor, religious and n rights organizations, he city's largest political nstration since the disar- nt rally of June 1982.

ıis is a New York event to Ve still believe,'" said Pe- ırrow of Peter, Paul and The folk group was just f more than a dozen per- rs and speakers, including ta Scott King, Bishop ıas Gumbleton, Pete See- ne Paul Winter Consort, Midnight Oil, an Austra- ock band, featured in the oon program.

e New York rally con- d a week of activities, in- g an international peace rence, in support of the Third Special Session on nament. Another march ally took place on the day in San Francisco, at- ıg about 2,500 people.

e SSD-III National Coali- which organized the , called for the abolition clear weapons, self-deter- ion for all nations, an end litary intervention and a rom military spending to economic development.

e special session on disar- nt, which convened from 31 through June 26, was s harmonious. After two of preparatory discus- and four weeks of negoti- , the 159 delegates were unable to reach a consensus on disarmament goals.

Peaceniks on parade: Thousands march to Central Park on June 11.

Splits between NATO countries, the Soviet bloc, and developing nations scuttled the session, which was trying to rewrite the first U.N. disarmament declaration approved unanimously in 1978. The second session, in 1982, also failed to reconcile differences. Western countries maintain the 1978 declaration is outdated.

Some of the main disagreements included:

- Western nations wanted stronger language committing developing countries to conventional disarmament. They also rejected Third World demands for a U.N. role in arms control verification.
- India, which has the bomb and refuses to sign the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, blocked a call for all nations to adhere to the pact.
- The United States objected to: Arab efforts to condemn Israel's nuclear weapons program, the Soviet Union's proposal to stress naval disarmament, and Third World and Soviet calls for a ban on nuclear tests and space weapons.

—Elliott Negin

SPLIT END

SHORTLY BEFORE THE SEVenth annual European Nuclear Disarmament (END) convention opened, NATO Secretary General Lord Carrington warned that although pressure from the "utopian and extremist . . . peace movement" had decreased, a new "euphoria" about disarmament had taken root, making it difficult for NATO governments to keep up their guard.

But if the outbreak of detente is disorienting for Western Europe's nuclear establishment, it is no less so for the peace movement.

The END convention, which ran from June 29 to July 2 in Lund, Sweden, was the first held without the long shadow of Euromissiles looming over its proceedings, and the concerns activists bring to such gatherings seemed to become precariously diffuse without an anti-missile focus.

The sense that the convention might have lost its purpose hung over the four-day event. "It feels more like 'Swap and Shop' now than a movement conference," remarked a leader of the Dutch Inter-Church Peace Committee (IKV). "I think we are witnessing the second-to-last END convention."

It may be too early for tombstones, however. One thousand people from Europe and beyond—45 countries in all—met in Lund in what remains a unique gathering of anti-establishment movements. Nowhere else do Western and Eastern European progressives get together on such a scale.

This implies a deeper significance of END conventions, suggested Mary Kaldor of British END: "I don't share the pessimism. END conventions are an umbrella for peace, Green and human rights organizations. That's the key purpose."

In Kaldor's view, exposing Western Europeans to the formerly taboo area of human rights and social movements in Eastern Europe, for example, is an integral part of the convention. And this year's meeting attracted independent activists from Hungary and Poland.

All this may say only that END conventions are very *successful* Swap and Shop events. But can they still serve as a rallying place for disarmers? There are reasons for worry, say some observers. Both Kaldor and Mike Gapes, of the British Labor Party, noted that at Lund, social democrats and peace activists were heading in different directions.

Such a split could hurt the the peace movement at a time when NATO plans to introduce "modernized" weapons to replace the ones removed by the INF agreement.

"We shouldn't drift apart any further," said Kaldor, "because, like it or not, we need each other." *—Ben Webb*

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BLIPS . . .

HEALING WHAT? In late May, **General Electric**—the owner of NBC—revived the old GE Theater with *To Heal a Nation*, a made-for-TV movie about a Vietnam War vet's struggle to build a memorial for the Americans killed in the war. What GE would like us to forget is that it was one of the major weapons suppliers during that time, making more than $12 billion from military contracts. And while the third largest U.S. corporation says it now "brings good things to life," it is a leader in the nuclear weapons industry, manufacturing bomb triggers and engines for B-1 and Stealth bombers. The company also recently won a five-year, $236-million Pentagon contract to oversee Star Wars research. For more information about GE and the GE boycott, contact: **INFACT**, 256 Hanover St., Boston, MA 02113, (617) 742-4583. For $6.95, you can order the group's 135-page book, *INFACT Brings GE to Light.*

HOT MESS Cleaning up radioactive and toxic wastes at U.S. weapons production facilities could take as long as 57 years and cost as much as $110 billion, according to a **Department of Energy** report released on July 1. The bill includes $48.5 billion for the Hanford Nuclear Reservation in Washington state and $12.5 billion for the Savannah River plant in South Carolina. Both plutonium production plants have severely contaminated local groundwater [see cover story, July/August 1988].

PHILIPPINE NFZ? The Philippine Senate passed a "Freedom from Nuclear Weapons" bill last June in an attempt to implement the provisions of the 1987 Philippine Constitution. The legislation, which still must be considered by the more conservative House of Representatives, bans the "development, manufacture, acquisition, testing, use or storage of nuclear weapons and nuclear weapons related facilities" on the islands, over the islands, or in their territorial waters. If passed by the House, the bill may have a serious effect on negotiations between the United States and the Philippines over the future of U.S. military bases there.

PLOWSHARES ACTION Last May, a federal magistrate found four Plowshares activists guilty of trespassing in connection with their Easter actions against the *USS Iowa* battleship in Norfolk, Virginia. **Philip Berrigan, Sister Margaret McKenna, Gregory Boertje,** and **Andrew Lawrence** boarded the ship with a tour group and then slipped away and attacked Tomahawk missile launchers with hammers and bolt cutters. In late July, the court sentenced Berrigan and Boertje to six months in jail, Lawrence to four months in jail, and placed McKenna on probation on condition that she not enter a military establishment.

ATOMIC VETERANS GET BENEFITS On May 20, President Reagan signed into law a bill that will grant new benefits to veterans exposed to radiation from postwar nuclear weapons tests or during the U.S. occupation of Japan. The law is the first to recognize cancer as "service connected" with nuclear weapons testing, allowing exposed veterans to apply for benefits. Critics note the law fails to cover many cancers triggered by ionizing radiation and does not include civilians, such as the residents of Utah or the Marshall Islands, who might have been exposed to nuclear test fallout.

—J. Peter Nixon

SUB-ZERO CANADIAN ELECTION?

A FLEET OF HIGH-PRICED NUclear submarines could help sink Canada's Progressive Conservative government when voters go to the polls sometime this fall. Defense issues normally take a backseat to domestic concerns here, but the government's decision last year to acquire 10-12 subs costing more than the country's annual defense budget continues to generate headlines and widespread criticism.

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's Progressive Conservative Party is in a precarious position even without the submarine controversy. Its public support has dwindled considerably in the past four years. The party won big in 1984, grabbing 75 percent of the seats in Parliament. But over the last year, public opinion polls show that the Progressive Conservatives and the other two major parties, the Liberals and the socialist New Democratic Party (NDP), each enjoy the support of a third of the electorate. If voters split this way on election day, Canada will have a minority government headed by either one of the three parties, or by an unlikely, but not impossible, Liberal-NDP coalition.

The Progressive Conservatives' downfall can be partly attributed to public opposition to their plan to boost military spending and buy the submarines—a move condemned by the Liberals and the NDP.

The subs are the most publicized component of last year's "White Paper on Defense," the first new government military policy introduced in 16 years. The Progressive Conservatives' policy seeks to reinvigorate Canada's defense with more money and hardware as well as closer ties to U.S. strategic plans. The final bill for the 15-year policy is officially es mated at $160 billion in U dollars, and the submarin which would be purchas from either Britain or Fran account for $6.5-12 billion that. Canada currently spen $8 billion annually on defen

The White Paper furth calls for the continuation U.S. activities such as cru missile testing over Canadi airspace, port visits by U.S. n clear warships, and U.S. an submarine warfare practice the Canadian coasts, as well continued Canadian assistan with Star Wars development.

The NDP, conversely, adv cates an independent Canadi defense policy that would p Canada out of NATO, send U.S. troops home, ban all U weapons tests in Canada, a designate the country a nuclea free zone.

The Liberals' defense poli is less well defined. They co fine themselves to opposi specific defense programs, su as U.S. cruise missile tests which they approved wh they were in power in 1983 and the planned acquisition the nuclear submarines.

The subs' critics include n only Canadian peace activis but military experts, politicia and columnists in Canada, t United States and Europe wh have stressed the technologic and financial shortcomings the subs.

Peace activists are also co cerned that the submarines re resent Canada's first use of n clear materials for milita purposes—a violation of t non-proliferation treaty—a that the submarines will be i tegrated directly into U.S. nav strategy.

"By going this route, we' not doing what Canada cou be doing best," says Patric Willis, the Canadian-based r searcher for the Pacific Ca paign to Disarm the Seas. "W really should be a non-nucle buffer zone between the tw superpowers. We are geograp ically the only country th

nds between them."
The White Paper served to
ivenate a Canadian peace
vement that had been in a
lding pattern after the
undswell of popular support
ıked and waned in the mid-
30s. Bob Penner, coordi-
or of a three-year-old na-
nal coalition called the
nadian Peace Alliance (CPA),
s the new policy benefits the
ıce movement "because it
es us a clear target."
'For the first time the Cana-
n government has openly
ted its agenda," Penner ex-
ins. "The White Paper wraps
all of its policies in a coher-
way and says: 'We want a
ıtinentalist policy. We want
be integrated with the
ited States. We support the
clear arms race.' Well, we in
peace movement don't
nd for any of those things."
The CPA has been trying to
se peace as an issue for the
election with its "Peace
dge Campaign" in which
ople sign and mail to the
ee parties cards that say they
l vote only for candidates
o promote peace. The cam-
gn has not had a major im-
t, but it has raised public
areness of defense issues.
The CPA does not endorse
one party, but the NDP is
only major party openly ad-
cating some of the pledge
d proposals, such as declar-
Canada a nuclear-free zone.
e Liberals adopted a similar
sition in 1986, but have done
le to publicize it.
Although domestic issues are
e to dominate the campaign,
Progressive Conservatives'
opular, expensive and well-
blicized obsession with nu-
ar submarines is putting ad-
ional pressure on an already
eaguered party. Even if the
ogressive Conservatives do
nage to hang onto most of
ir seats, the public's rising
ncern about peace, security
l limited financial resources
es not ensure a bright future
the party's White Paper pol-
—Kim Goldberg

ACTIVISTS MAKE WAVES

DURING THE LAST WEEK IN May, the four-year-old International Campaign to Disarm the Seas organized marches, aquatic maneuvers and street theater actions in 43 locales in 14 countries to protest the global arms race at sea.

The Peace Navy encircles a 100-foot replica of a nuclear submarine in San Francisco Bay in late May to protest nuclear weapons at sea.

The Pacific Campaign to Disarm the Seas (PCDS) and the North Atlantic Network coordinated events in Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Fiji, Finland, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Japan, New Zealand, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States.

In the United States, protest centered in California and Hawaii. In San Francisco, members of the Peace Navy, which opposes the homeporting of the battleship *Missouri*, staged an "aquatic play" for audiences along the waterfront. Their peace fleet of sailboats, speed boats and kayaks circled a 100-foot replica of a nuclear submarine, which experienced a "theatrical" nuclear accident.

In San Diego, the Channel Zero Theater Group staged a skit near the harbor. In it, the personnel of a sea-launched cruise missile unit, who carried a shiny 20-foot replica of a Tomahawk missile, killed Third World figures and took King Neptune into custody to dramatize the consequences of U.S. naval intervention.

On Kaho`olawe island in Hawaii, site of regular naval bombardment for Rim of the Pacific (RIMPAC) training exercises, the Maui Mayor Hannibal Tavares led supporters ashore, where they planted a flag on the beach, symbolically reclaiming it for the County of Maui and the people of Hawaii. RIMPAC regularly bombards the island, which has hundreds of ancestral Hawaiian shrines, temples and historical sites. Meanwhile, Canadian peace activists in Nanoose Bay, British Columbia, also "shelled" the Canadian Force's Maritime and Experimental Test Range with oyster shells to protest the Canadian government's participation in RIMPAC war games and demonstrate their solidarity with Hawaiian groups seeking to reclaim Kaho`olawe. And in Pearl Harbor, home of the U.S. Pacific Command, Disarm the Seas advocates sponsored a peace walk and rally.

Nelson Foster, international coordinator of PCDS, argued that "the international peace movement should pressure the United States and its allies to take meaningful steps toward disarming the seas. He noted that the Reagan administration has equipped U.S. Navy ships and submarines with more than 2,000 new nuclear weapons since 1980. The cost to the American taxpayer of this buildup has been more than $485 billion.

During this time, the Soviets have also expanded their nuclear forces at sea. But Mikhail Gorbachev proposed a Pacific disarmament conference in 1987 and again at the Moscow summit in May. He suggested a ban on naval operations in commercial sea lanes and the creation of nuclear-free zones in northeast Asia and the northwestern Pacific.

Except for long-range ballistic missiles on submarines, the deployment of U.S. and Soviet naval nuclear weapons is not addressed by existing arms control treaties and naval commanders possess broad discretionary powers over the use of tactical nuclear weaponry.

International Disarm the Seas activists want the superpowers to disengage their naval forces. Toward this end, they have encouraged countries to prohibit visits by nuclear-capable vessels, establish neutral zones or nuclear-free zones, remove superpower bases and facilities contributing to interventionary and nuclear force projection and prohibit military training exercises in their territorial waters. *—Jim Jacobson*

For more information, contact: the Pacific Campaign to Disarm the Seas, 2257 Makanani Dr., Honolulu, HI 96817 (808) 845-6328 or the North Atlantic Network, c/o Scottish Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 420 Sauchiehall St., Glasgow G2 3JD, Scotland.

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IDEAS THAT WORK/KRISTIN MATZ

OUT OF THE ACADEMY

OPTIONS PROGRAM GETS PROFESSORS OUT OF THE CLASSROOM AND INTO THE COMMUNITY

Students at Brown University made headlines four years ago when they asked their school's health service to stock suicide pills in case of a nuclear war. It was a symbolic gesture that provoked a response across the country. But it was an ephemeral event. The students' next step was to devise a way to educate the public about nuclear war issues on an ongoing basis.

The students, along with some faculty members and administrators, planned a project in which undergraduates and professors would speak on nuclear issues to high schools and community groups. They then turned to the Topsfield Foundation, a private, Rhode Island-based philanthropy that funds international security projects, for seed money.

Not only did Topsfield fund the Brown program, it took the idea—without the undergraduates—and ran with it. After an experimental year at Brown, Topsfield funded similar outreach programs at other colleges around the country. In the last four years 32 schools have signed on to the program, which Topsfield named "Options."

Paul Aicher, president of the foundation, says the main goal of Options is to have knowledgeable college faculty "reach out into the community beyond peace activists" to help citizens understand the "options" they and their government have for achieving global security.

The way it works is simple. First, campus coordinators publicize that volunteer faculty speakers are available to present international security options to community groups. Interested organizations then contact the coordinator and request a speaker who has a particular expertise.

Not only are professors contributing. Administrators have been providing free space for Options coordinators as well as computers and assistance from students on work-study programs. "Without the support of the institutions themselves," says Options Executive Director Marta Daniels Troy, "the program would not be as successful as it is."

Option's national office at Juniata College in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, accepts applications in the winter of each year. By March or April of the next year it dec which schools are eligible for the prog and makes its grants.

Options does not promote right- or l wing views and strives to provoke del without "polarizing or paralyzing par pants." Although speakers do at ti present their own opinions, none are cially backed by Options.

Speakers cover a wide range of top including U.S.-Soviet relations; wor war and peace; the history of the arms r the psychological effects of the nuc threat; and the environmental implicat of nuclear technology. Faculty volunt come from departments as varied as p ics, economics, sociology, education, chology, religious studies, Asian stu and nursing.

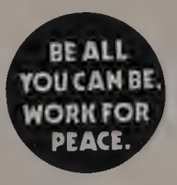
The program at Connecticut Colleg one example of how Options helps wi the debate on nuclear issues. Ledyar nearby community, is largely dependen the defense industry: it is home to the N London naval submarine base and Elec Boat—a division of General Dynamics employs more than 20,000 people—as as the Naval Underwater Sound Lab other assorted defense operations.

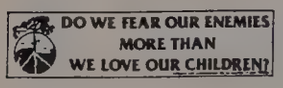
Residents of Ledyard are accustome hearing "pretty hawkish talk," says Stowe, program chair of the local Ro Club. But earlier this year, Rotary mem invited Connecticut College faculty present alternatives to the town's tr tional way of thinking. At a club meetin the spring, Associate Professor John K denounced the Strategic Defense Initiat arguing that the money spent on Star W would be better spent on efforts to p mote peace. Talk like that is radica Ledyard, and Stowe says the fact that p ple listened is "a big step forward."

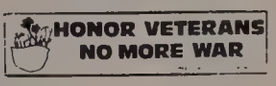
Although most of the first Options p grams were in the Northeast, they are n all over the country. For more informa on a program in your local area, or on h to start one at your college, contact M Daniels Troy, Options executive direc Juniata College, Box 875, Huntingdon, 16652, (814) 643-3554.

Kristin Matz is a summer intern at clear Times.

PROGRESSIVE MATERIALS FOR GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING AND FUNDRAISING







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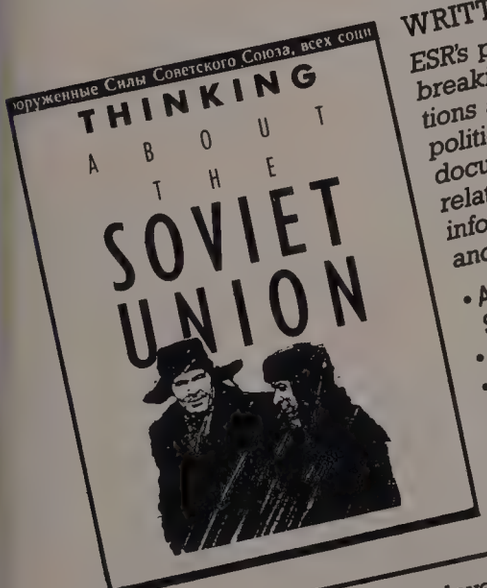

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TEST BAN BATTLE

PURISTS AND PRAGMATISTS DEBATE COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN STRATEGY

Waiting for a simulated nuclear test: Soviet Academy Vice President Yevgeny Belikhov, NRDC Chairman Adrian De Wind, and Soviet scientists Mikhail Gokhberg and Nikolai Yukhnin.

On the morning of April 29, a team of Soviet and American scientists huddled in a trailer in the eastern California desert and stared intently at their seismic instruments. The group, part of an extraordinary arms control project sponsored by the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC) and the Soviet Academy of Sciences, was watching for evidence of earth tremors from a simulated nuclear weapons test 250 miles away. Set to be triggered promptly at 11 a.m., the shot was the first of three small underground chemical explosions planned over a two-day period. The NRDC and the Soviet Academy—a private and a state-supported group, respectively—had conducted a similar series of experiments near the Soviet nuclear weapons test site in Kazakhstan in September 1987. Now, minutes past the hour, the signals coming into the desert listening post were so faint some of the seismologists wondered if the test blast had misfired. The stylus for plotting the shock waves barely quivered.

Soon, however, scientists at the NRDC control center overlooking "ground zero," about 100 miles north of Reno, called to say that the underground explosion had gone off on schedule, blowing columns of muddy water high into the air above western Nevada's Black Rock Desert. Soviet experts analyzing the computer tape made at the California monitoring station then discovered that it had indeed picked up the seismic echo of that distant 10-ton blast. The complex geology of the Nevada desert region near the U.S. nuclear weapons test site had weakened the signal, but it had not obliterated it or masked its identity.

The experiment, designed to show that a nuclear weapons test ban can be verified, was a success. Speaking to reporters covering the event, Dr. Charles B. Archambeau, an NRDC adviser and a professor of geophysics at the University of Colorado at Boulder, said, "It means that we can more accurately gauge the numbers and distribution of [seismic monitoring] stations that will be required to verify a low-threshold treaty. It will also help us to set the threshold of what's verifiable."

"Our goal is to stop all testing," added Dr. Yevgeny P. Velikhov, vice president of the Soviet Academy and a senior arms control adviser to Mikhail Gorbachev. "And that goal is very important for ending the arms race." No government is likely to risk deploying a new nuclear weapons system it cannot test, the theory goes. So the smaller the permissible blast, the fewer the weapons types that can be developed.

But of all modern arms control pro als, a comprehensive test ban treaty (C that would outlaw all nuclear testing perhaps proved the most elusive. As NRDC-Soviet Academy experiments onstrated, the chief obstacle to a CT not technical, but political. The Reaga ministration, alone among postwar governments, has bitterly fought any posed restrictions on nuclear testing. policy disputes between pragmatist purist elements of the peace move have also hindered progress on a C And as the Reagan years come to a c the test ban movement finds itself s gling to regain its momentum before next deadly generation of atomic wea makes its one-way journey from the d ing board to the stockpile.

Lowering the Threshold. In August, other team of Soviet scientists tro through the Nevada desert on a diff mission. They came to participate controversial exchange program arra in September 1987 by Secretary of George P. Shultz and Soviet Foreign M ter Eduard Shevardnadze. The deal c for Soviet and American experts to m tor nuclear weapons blasts at each ot test sites to see if they could agree up technical method for verifying compli with two test ban treaties negotiated d the Nixon and Ford years: the Thres Test Ban Treaty (TTBT) of 1974 and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Tr (PNET) of 1976. These treaties, w both superpowers recognize though Senate never ratified, prohibit nuclear over 150 kilotons. This is a ceiling so (equal, in force, to 12 Hiroshima bo that it poses no threat to the develop of new missile warheads or President gan's Star Wars program. The admini tion has stated that if the Soviet U would accept the Amer ("CORRTEX") monitoring system a with a package of other verification mands, then it would push for Senate fication of the TTBT and PNET.

Verification of the 150-kiloton th old is the only nuclear-testing initiativ the Reagan arms control agenda,

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)m a hazy proposal to stop U.S. testing in
e next century—after all nuclear weap-
is have been eliminated. In July 1982,
ght months prior to the announcement of
; Strategic Defense Initiative, President
:agan unilaterally broke off American
rticipation in nearly a quarter century of
S.-Soviet comprehensive test ban talks.

Peace activists favoring an immediate
lt to all weapons tests have denounced
e administration's resurrection of the
TBT and PNET as disingenuous disarma-
ent—"a snare and a delusion," in the
)rds of William Epstein, a former repre-
ntative of the United Nations secretary
neral at two major arms control parleys.
oth treaties," he noted, "were entered
:o long before the recent breakthroughs
seismic monitoring of tests; and the [150-
oton] threshold levels, which were ex-
ssively high at the time they were agreed
on, are now totally obsolete."

"The rationale for the testing swap is a
mplete and utter detour and a smoke
:een," said Damon Moglen, disarmament
mpaign coordinator for Greenpeace
S.A. "The United States and the Soviets
ve been abiding by the Threshold Test
n Treaty since 1974, even though it's
ver been ratified. What the Reagan ad-
nistration is trying to do is subvert the
it ban movement. It is committed to its
al of continuing nuclear testing, continu-
; weapons modernization and continuing
ir Wars development."

A Comprehensive Ban. The administra-
n's cynical embrace of an ineffective
sting limit in the face of mounting evi-
nce that an effective limit is verifiable
nply confirms for many in the peace
)vement how blindly nuclear testing
ives the arms race. But it has also had
other effect. It has rekindled grassroots
:erest in a comprehensive test ban treaty.
A CTBT is not "*the* key to ending the
ns race or stopping future weapons
velopment," cautioned John Isaacs, the
ashington, D.C.-based legislative direc-
r of Council for a Livable World (CLW),
ut it would be a very important agree-
:nt and certainly one of the next major
ders of business" after the INF Treaty
d START.

Prior to the Freeze Campaign of the early
80s, only a few peace groups, most nota-
y Greenpeace and Physicians for Social
sponsibility (PSR), actively championed
e cause of a CTBT. "As a policy pro-
sal," said David Lewis, PSR legislative
rector, "it has never been a favorite" of
e arms control establishment, because it
"not really arms *control*, but rather an
empt to stop the development of nuclear
apons." By making a moratorium on nu-
clear explosions a central element of its agenda, the broad-based Freeze movement helped to legitimize the idea.

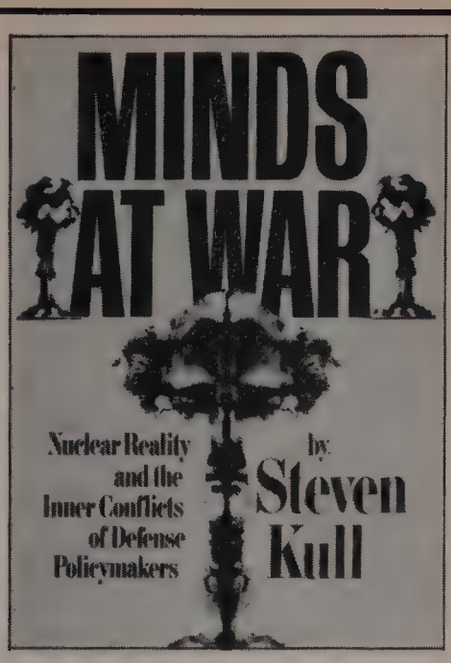
But it was not until August 1985, when Gorbachev declared a pause in Soviet weapons tests, that organized support for a CTBT blossomed. During the moratorium, which Gorbachev kept alive for 19 months despite U.S. refusal to join in, the NRDC and the Soviet Academy signed their remarkable agreement to conduct joint seismic verification experiments, the House and Senate adopted resolutions calling for the resumption of CTBT negotiations with the Soviet Union, and the House (but not the Senate) passed a rider to the 1987 defense authorization bill cutting off funding for nuclear tests above 1 kiloton. After congressional initiatives failed and the Soviets resumed testing in February 1987, some peace groups began to question the wisdom of pressing Congress to enact legislation that did not abolish nuclear tests.

Today the test ban movement remains plagued by sporadic ideological disputes between purists and pragmatists over basic strategy. Recently, for example, Greenpeace and American Peace Test, both pillars of the movement, disassociated themselves from two widely endorsed congressional lobbying efforts because those campaigns promoted bills establishing very low, but less-than-comprehensive testing limits. "A half a kiloton, 10 kilotons, 150 kilotons—it's all bad and has to stop," argued Jessie Cocks, an APT organizer.

The pragmatists, for their part, counter that political rigidity does not win the peace community badly needed victories. "We prefer a comprehensive test ban," said Isaacs of CLW, which backed both campaigns, "but since we are a lobbying group, we will endorse measures that don't quite reach our ideal standards."

Other pragmatists contend that a CTBT would require such a high order of verification and trust that the best the peace community can hope to achieve, for now, is a 1-to-5-kiloton threshold. Christopher E. Paine, a staff assistant to Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) who has led three unsuccessful bids to pass anti-testing bills in the Senate, observed, "I don't think that [even] a Democratic administration, faced with a host of other arms control priorities, is going to spend all its capital trying to convince the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the weapons labs to go along with a CTB."

Christine K. Cassel, PSR president, said this attitude is self-defeating. "I've talked to Chris Paine and others who say that nothing else [but a low-threshold limit] will sell on the Hill. And part of the reason nothing else will sell there is that they're not willing



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to sell it," she said, noting that PSR itself has lobbied for low-threshold legislation. A low-threshold ban "won't stop modernization," she added. "We'll just figure out more demonic ways to use smaller explosions."

Yet despite these spirited differences, something has changed. Aroused by a new sense of urgency, a broad spectrum of anti-nuclear, environmental, religious and public-interest groups have agreed to patch up their quarrels and make a bona fide CTBT one of their top disarmament priorities.

International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War has hired a full-time staff member to work exclusively on the issue. The Sierra Club has named a CTBT as its second most important long-term goal, after cleaning up hazardous waste. SANE/FREEZE and Women for a Meaningful Summit sent delegations to the Moscow Summit last May to urge President Reagan and Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev to institute a bilateral moratorium on testing and begin talks on a comprehensive test ban treaty. Also in May, SANE/FREEZE announced the formation of the International Comprehensive Test Ban Campaign, with more than 30 participating organizations. Its leading groups include SANE/FREEZE, Parliamentarians Global Action, Greenpeace, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Sierra Club, Women Strike for Peace, American Peace Test, NRDC, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War and the Center for Defense Information. To reduce the possibility of political friction, the coalition has agreed to concentrate its efforts on grassroots activities. Members will be free to participate in other coalitions that might work for a low-threshold test ban, but the international campaign, as an entity, will not take a stand on any bill that is not a CTB bill.

"It's not going to be a coalition to do three or four events this year, and then we're through," said Carolyn Cottom, former co-director of SANE/FREEZE, whose job was recently redefined so that she could focus on the comprehensive test ban campaign. "If it takes all of 1989, or longer, then that's what the purpose of this coalition is. It's overdue in the peace movement to have a coalition that really stays with an issue like this."

The timing is critical for several reasons. First, U.S. voters will elect a new president this fall who will have an unparalleled opportunity to call off the 40-year superpower competition to develop newer and ever more provocative nuclear weapons systems. Michael Dukakis has pledged his support for "a mutual and verifiable ban on nuclear weapons testing," and has said he would back "a mutual moratorium on ing pending the conclusion of such agreement." George Bush is on recor opposing a comprehensive test ban, some observers believe he might agree small reduction in the 150-kiloton thr old. But whoever becomes president confront the same institutionalized opp tion to restrictions on testing that k chances for a CTBT in the Eisenho Kennedy and Carter administrations.

"The weapons manufacturers and w ons labs are going to put on the pressu said Moglen. "And if the leadership in arms control community is going to a for an easy out—meaning a new thresh that won't stop [the modernization] cess—the new president will be under mendous pressure to accept that."

As a countervailing influence, a br based campaign for a comprehensive ban could make a difference, especially Democrat wins in November.

United Nations Initiative. But even George Bush should succeed Ronald R gan, there is another reason why a com hensive test ban is apt to emerge as a eign policy "hot potato" early on in next administration. A serious move is derway at the United Nations to amend Limited Test Ban Treaty (LTBT) of 196 which proscribes atomic explosions in atmosphere, in outer space and under ter—to include a ban on underground as well. This bold gambit, if succes would legally upgrade the "limited" tr into a "comprehensive" one.

The LTBT allows for its own modi tion by means of a special review con ence, which, under the treaty, must be vened whenever one-third of its signato approve a formal request to hold one. cording to Aaron Tovish, executive di tor of Parliamentarians Global Action New York-based organization of inte tional legislators that is coordinating strategy, the minimum 39 votes neede trigger the process appear already com ted. In what is being viewed as a test vo the General Assembly last Novembe LTBT signatories, including the So Union, joined 41 other countries to pa non-binding resolution recommending a conference be called. Only the Un States, Great Britain and France v against it.

The issue of a comprehensive test has been a fundamental concern of United Nations for more than three cades. When the United States, the So Union and Great Britain signed the Lim Test Ban Treaty, they pledged therei pursue negotiations on "the discon ance of all test explosions for all ti

e years later, they reaffirmed that pledge the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 68. The official United Nations *Disar-ament Yearbook* refers to a CTBT as the *e qua non* for ending the arms race and eventing nuclear proliferation. Many n-nuclear and near-nuclear member tes regard superpower commitment to a BT as the *quid pro quo* for their contin-l renunciation of the bomb. Thus the ited States' pullout six years ago from its g-standing CTBT talks with the Soviets gered many at the world body. The ultz-Shevardnadze accord, which med to dash any residual hopes for a BT, was the last straw. It gave a big ost to Parliamentarians' treaty-amend-nt approach, which up until then had en "stagnant," Tovish admitted.

"We feel that the political process in the ited States and in the Soviet Union needs ernational help to sustain the political l to halt testing," said Tovish. Tovish d he expects a formal appeal for an endment conference to be ready for omission before the end of October. As-ning everything goes as planned, the nference could take place as early as next r, probably under U.N. auspices even ough it is not, strictly speaking, a U.N. tter. "Behind the technical details," he ed, "is the gut political question of who l bell the cat," adding, "It is not as if ose calling for a review] are going to get Panama treatment'" from the next ad-nistration. Any new language aimed at ning the LTBT into a comprehensive ban may be vetoed outright by the ited States, as one of the treaty's princi-s. Nevertheless, Washington would still e to defend its position in a forum of rld opinion, and any perceived intransi-ce on its part could boomerang when Non-Proliferation Treaty comes up for final review in 1990, five years before it et to expire.

"If the non-nuclear powers see the BT] amendment conference as a be-al," Tovish continued, "then you'll get angry countries that are parties to both ties moving from the [LTBT] amend-nt conference to the NPT review con-nce," with potentially disastrous conse-nces for the spread of atomic weapons.

echnological Time Bomb. Mobilization a comprehensive test ban is urgent for a d reason, disarmament activists say. A nnological time bomb is ticking away at heart of the arms race. Having per-ed the art of making instruments of ss destruction, U.S. weapons labs, which rate privately under contract to the De-tment of Energy (DOE), are now busy eloping so-called third-generation nu-clear devices: high-precision, low-yield battlefield arms and enhanced-radiation weapons, such as thermonuclear-driven microwave and X-ray lasers, for President Reagan's Star Wars program. Meanwhile, as supercomputer modeling techniques improve, it will become easier, experts say, to design new categories of weapons using test explosions that are too tiny to detect. Thus if the superpowers do not act quickly to avert this next quantum leap in the balance of terror, a CTBT, along with many other proposed political remedies, may become superfluous or unverifiable—or both.

During more than 43 years of nuclear testing, the United States has tried to increase its lead over the Soviet Union in the development of new and better designed weaponry. An NRDC report released last January disclosed that between July 16, 1945, the date the very first atomic device was demonstrated, and December 31, 1987, the United States had detonated at least 919 nuclear explosions of varying yields—an average of one test every 17 days for four decades, and 117 more than U.S. officials have announced publicly. (By contrast, the Soviet Union is estimated to have set off no fewer than 618; Great Britain, 41; France, 162; China, 33; and India, one.)

Weapons development experiments constitute "75 to 80 percent of the nuclear tests conducted each year" by the United States, the NRDC study said, but that percentage could climb higher if SDI research continues. Administration officials have stated that 500 to 1,000 additional test blasts would be needed just to prove the feasibility of five nuclear-powered weapons at the core of the Star Wars program. The remaining 20 percent of American tests are carried out for four principal purposes: to check the reliability of new as well as aging warheads in the stockpile, to determine the effects of nuclear explosions on military equipment, to help solve difficult theoretical problems in nuclear physics, and to improve the safety (e.g., the transportation procedures or "fail-safe" mechanisms) of weapons systems.

President Reagan told Congress in March 1986 that nuclear testing is essential to ensure that our nuclear arsenal is "safe, effective, reliable and survivable." But as Paul Warnke, former head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, observed, "The only 'safe' nuclear weapon is one that will not explode." U.S. nuclear warheads have been specifically designed to prevent accidental detonation, even if a chemical explosion occurs in the triggering

(Continued on page 21)

"STOP THEM DAMN PICTURES"

That's what "Boss" Tweed demanded when he saw the handwriting on the Hall (Tammany, that is). But the pictures didn't stop. "Boss" Tweed met his maker in the Ludlow Street Jail and Thomas Nast put bitingly eloquent political cartoons squarely and permanently in the middle of American political life. Tweed aside, we think Emerson had it right when he said, ***"Caricatures are often the truest history of the times."***

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WHAT ARE WE TEACHING OUR KIDS?

Nuclear-age educators say they want children to think critically. Conservative critics see a hidden agenda.

MIRANDA SPENCER

t's Tuesday morning at the Bank Street School on New York's Upper West Side, and Stanlee Brimberg's class has just finished "sharing" what everybody d over Memorial Day weekend. Now it's ie to move on to more serious fare.

Seated around octagonal tables, the 11- d 12-year-olds wriggle as Brimberg briefs em on the story of an American girl who nt to camp in the Soviet Union. He asks em to think about ways children might lp bring about a more peaceful world. r five minutes, they'll "work on ideas."

Right away, a curly-haired boy named vid blurts out, "Yo, Zoe, get married to oviet and have lots of children! . . . Hey, w about kids taking over the world?"

Ultimately David and his classmates me up with some more serious propos- hold Soviet-American children's sum- rs, have anti-war marches and start an ernational children's newspaper.

This type of exercise is par for the course Bank Street, which has made teaching out the Soviet Union (along with Com- nist China) a major part of its social dies curriculum. For Brimberg, this in- des giving students firsthand experi- es, such as interviews with visiting Rus- ns and tours of New York's own rainian neighborhood. He also assigns nventional research projects, with ambi- us titles like "The Economy Under rbachev" and "The Sakharovs."

And like the brainstorming exercise out peacemaking, much of Brimberg's ching involves open-ended debate. For mple, when the class studied capitalism sus socialism, Brimberg asked students ich system they thought was better.

"They resisted," he recalls. "They said you can't say which is a better system. I said, 'If you have two bicycles, you can ride each one for a block and say which is better' . . . and what we got to is they said the goals of the systems are different. If it's to provide the essentials of life, to make sure everybody has a place to live, then communism can accomplish that better . . . but if you're going to look for opportunity for individuals, then you're impeded by the socialist system."

Obviously, Brimberg's students do not seem the kind of kids who see the world as Rambo versus Ivan. They are clearly interested in and capable of grasping concepts like geopolitics and the Cold War.

But then again, are they really ready for this? Shouldn't 11- and 12-year-olds be learning their basic three R's, rather than worrying about superpower rivalry? What right does a school have to throw innocent babes into the nuclear debate?

Not just a right—a responsibility, say proponents of nuclear-age education. Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR), which pioneered 'socially responsible' education as a response to widespread fears about the nuclear-weapons buildup [see sidebar, page 18], believes that in this dangerous, complicated world, teachers should be trying to "complicate children's thinking." ESR's goal is to present students "with multiple perspectives on issues and encourage them to ask hard questions about the sources of conflict resolution."

But a vocal coterie of conservative critics charge that such lofty ideals do not accurately reflect what is going on in schools where Johnny is learning from nuclear-age educators. Instead, they say, the approach tends to reduce reality to naive axioms, such as war is caused by weapons, or "sharing" is superior to competition. It portrays the Soviet Union as a benign entity, they charge, and tries to mold children into activists before they have even begun to grasp history or politics.

LEADING PROPONENTS OF NUCLEAR-AGE education say advocacy is the last thing they want. "Responsible teachers don't think of themselves as advocates," says Betty Reardon, director of the peace education program at Columbia University's Teachers College. Reardon believes students can and should be exposed to one-sided arguments—but only as viewpoints, subject to evaluation. This means that a tract advocating unilateral disarmament—or mutual assured destruction, for that matter—is legitimate teaching material. But only so a teacher can say, "Let's examine this in light of the assumptions and values of the proposer." She adds that not only is this the ethical approach, it is the only way a teacher can maintain credibility: "If you say, 'this is good' and 'this is bad,' students will inevitably come up against something that calls that into question."

Seemingly sound sentiments. But critics charge that more often, nuclear-age materials and teachers fall far short of promoting "critical thinking" about issues of war, peace and international relations.

"The word 'deterrence' is never used," says Herbert London, dean of New York University's Gallatin Division and author of *Armageddon in the Classroom*. The book examines seven widely used nuclear-age teacher guides and concludes that—far from presenting all arguments fairly—their tenor is overwhelmingly pacifist, illustrating an "exercise in propaganda put together

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by the same sort of people who have the same perspective—unilateralism: simply reduce our arsenal as if there wasn't another dancer on the stage," says London.

Similarly, Stanford University's International Security and Arms Control (ISAC) project has compiled bibliographies of some 275 English-language materials on peace around the world. Project Coordinator Robin Riddle, a curriculum specialist, concludes that "the majority of materials available . . . were not balanced. Most fall to the left."

EVEN CONFLICT RESOLUTION, WHICH teachers use to settle disputes on the playground and to promote social skills, has been attacked by critics who say the approach promotes naive views of how the world works. As Keith B. Payne, executive director of the National Institute for Public Policy, a conservative think tank, says, "The implication is that the same pacific methods apply to both [personal disputes and international conflict]." Asks London: "What if a relentless enemy is holding you and they won't listen? Why isn't that a valid scenario?"

Is such criticism fair? ESR's Executive Director Susan Alexander, who calls t critique a "far-right conspiracy," compla that the attacks, which began in earn around 1985, have been launched mai through conservative magazines and ne papers; conservatives have never, she sa confronted ESR directly. Moreover, su critics have tended to use out-of-date out-of-context materials, says Alexand ones that nuclear-age educators have the selves discarded or improved upon revie

Yet, some of what goes under the n clear-age rubric has made easy targets f criticism. For example, ESR's 1983 teach guide, *Perspectives*, offers exercises "new modes of thinking" that to so would seem to encourage daydreami over skill-building. It suggests "utopi imagination" exercises, in which teach ask children to "choose one situation [conflict] either on a personal, societal global level and envision [it] being brou to a peaceful solution." Even fantastic s lutions such as "Superman swoops dow are acceptable, the guide says. In later cha ters, *Perspectives* challenges students to d termine an equitable distribution Hershey's Kisses.

But in other respects, *Perspectives* a

NUKES IN THE CLASSROOM

In 1981, headlines across the country were screaming about the nuclear build-up. Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR), formed that year, was the first organization to make a concerted effort to prepare teachers to address growing fear and confusion.

At the time, says Executive Director Susan Alexander, "Nobody knew what 'socially responsible' education meant." What *was* clear was that planetary survival was at issue and no one was talking seriously about it in the schools. Instead, says Alexander, there was "misinformation, disinformation, facts and opinions all mixed up." This seemed particularly true when it came to the Soviet Union. From ESR's point of view, says Alexander, there was "no way to teach responsibly without bringing in the Soviet Union, about which nobody knew anything."

Since then, value-influenced approaches that develop students' social conscience and awareness of world conflicts have multiplied, taking several distinct forms. Phyllis La Farge, author of *The Strangelove Legacy*, categorizes the various approaches this way:

- **Global studies** emphasizes the interdependence of nations and implies that through better understanding of other cultures, we can help prevent international conflict;
- **Conflict resolution** aims to give students an understanding of the sources of personal and political conflict and tries to offer creative alternatives to violence;
- **Nuclear education** focuses primarily on weapons and power;
- **Nuclear-age education** combines all of the above, with an emphasis on "critical thinking."

As the field itself has evolved, nuclear-age education has enjoyed growing acceptance as an approach to social studies. In 1985, the national Parent Teacher Association (PTA) passed a resolution endorsing nuclear-age education. The National Education Association (NEA), the largest teachers' union, has been helping distribute nuclear-age teaching materials since 1983. —*M.S.*

For information on ESR programs, contact: Educators for Social Responsibility, 23 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138, (617) 492-1764.

ears to strive for seriousness and balance. ı a section for high-school students, for ‹ample, it asks them to compare and cri- que two speeches: "I Have a Dream," by lartin Luther King, and Ronald Reagan's ımous "Peace-Through-Strength/Evil mpire" speech. A teacher whose personal ıclination was toward King might easily ant the outcome. But so might a teacher ho favored Reagan. Either way, says etty Reardon, it would not be the fault of ıe guide's authors. "You don't blame chaikovsky if some 12-year-old messes up concerto."

In practice, say defenders of nuclear-age lucation, a teaching exercise that exam- es both left-and right-leaning positions is likely to yield points to the conservative ımp. Steve Clark, publications director ır the University of Denver's Center for eaching International Relations, cites a ıse in point. In a high school lesson debat- g the nuclear freeze, in which students ad 18 documents from the Department Defense, the Center for Defense In- ormation and Ploughshares, among oth- s, Clark says the students most frequently ecide *against* the freeze.

By its very nature, nuclear-age education must inevitably rub some the wrong way. For traditionalists, "even dealing with these issues is construed as liberal," observes Clark. Phyllis La Farge, author of *The Strangelove Legacy: Children, Parents and Teachers in the Nuclear Age*, goes further, arguing that nuclear-age materials are a needed complement to standard social studies texts, which she says show their own bias in "maintaining a near silence about nuclear weapons and the arms race."

Yet even proponents of nuclear-age education concede that some teachers and materials do fall below accepted standards of fairness. As in every profession, "there's a political spectrum of teachers," says La Farge. For her book, La Farge sat in on numerous classes and noted "tremendous variation" in nuclear-age teaching styles: "I saw nice people who were terribly biased and some not-so-nice people who did a much better job teaching." Some teachers, she says flatly, "are peaceniks, and . . . if they're in charge, they're going to have a hard time being entirely neutral . . . " She cites an ESR chapter in San Francisco that encouraged teachers to bring students to peace marches.

To address such problems, ESR offers

NO MORE DUCK AND COVER

Critics of nuclear-age education may harbor an image of leftists hustling their radical agendas to unsuspecting curriculum directors. But the typical nuclear-age program in an American school today was more likely initiated by the local school board itself. Some programs around the country:

■ The Los Angeles Unified School District—America's largest—has a nuclear-age resource guide for optional use by social studies and science teachers. The guide covers conflict resolution in the lower grades and global awareness in high school. Alan Scholl, social science specialist, says politics is introduced only at the high school level, and "in a benign, subtle way," through such topics as the cost of national defense and nuclear versus conventional war.

■ Milwaukee, Wisconsin, public schools include Hiroshima Day observances and "peacemaker" awards as part of their nuclear-age education program. Arthur Rumpf, social science coordinator, says the program introduces the concepts of power and powerlessness: "If you don't understand power, it's impossible to talk about nuclear weapons." Has bias been an issue? Says Rumpf, "I don't know what 500 teachers do when they close the door, [but] if they went off the deep end . . . we'd hear about it."

■ The state of Oregon is currently developing a nuclear-age education program mandated by its legislature. The K-through-12 plan will include such units as "understanding the world and its peoples" and "understanding weapons issues." Ellen Yung, of the Department of Education, says the program "tries not to side with anything."

■ Brooklyn's Community District 15 and the New York City chapter of ESR pioneered a "Model Peace Education Program" now used in eight districts citywide. The program promotes a concept of peace as "dynamic, exciting and risky" and includes a 20-hour training program for "playground mediators." Tom Roderick, executive director of ESR/Metro, says the aim is to get children thinking "creatively" about resolving disputes, "[but] we are not implying that kids who learn alternatives on the playground are going to go on to solve international conflicts." —*M.S.*

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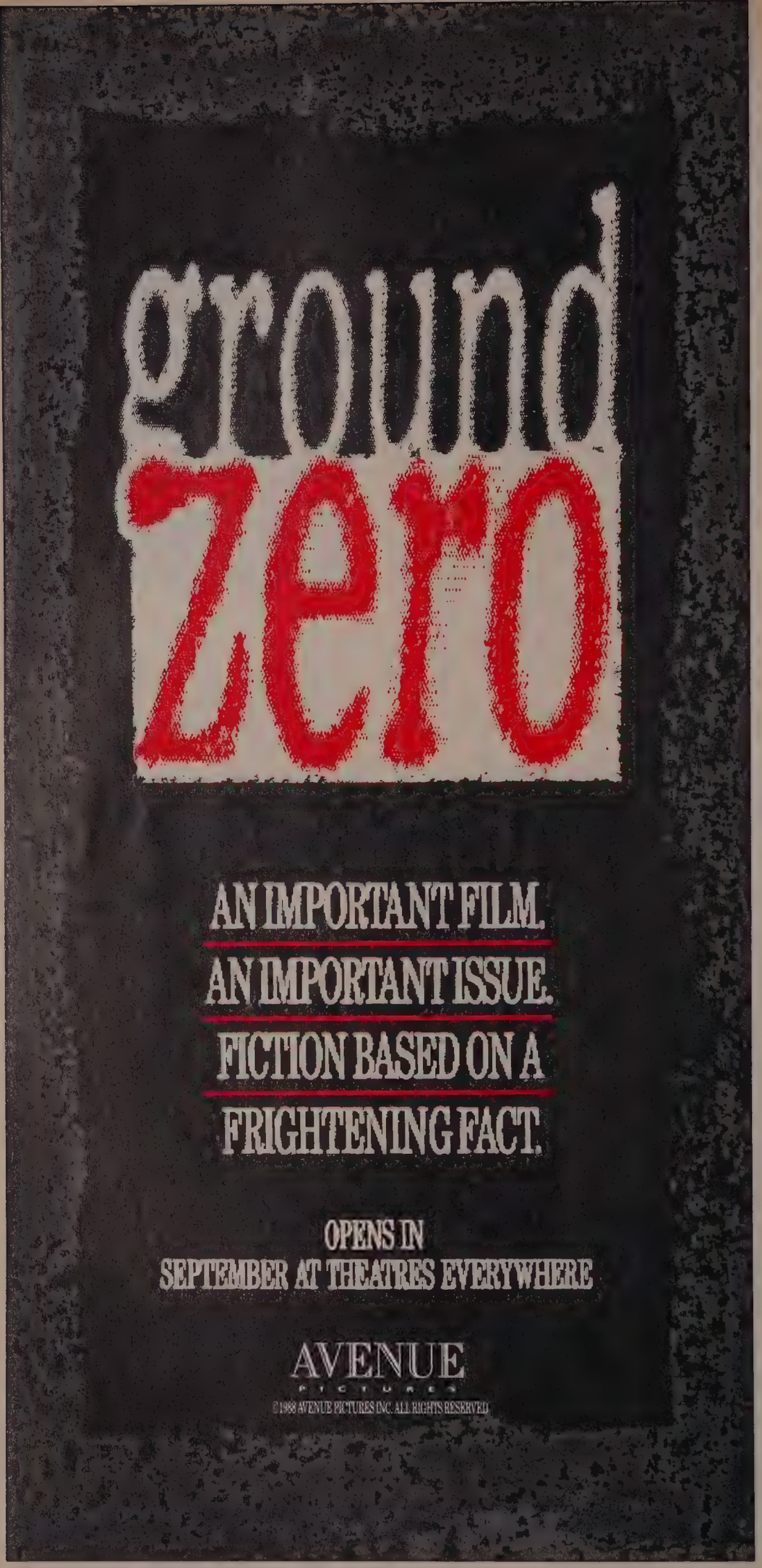

among its annual teaching worksh courses on "propaganda and bias in tea ing controversial issues," to complement substantive workshops on such topics conflict resolution, human rights in the viet Union and Third World developme

BUT BIAS IS NOT THE ONLY PROBL facing nuclear-age education. La Farge lieves that active bias is less widesprea problem than is a worrisome lack sophistication among practicing teache Many teachers take what she calls a "l join hands and sing" approach to pea education, "as if this could solve t world's problems." Such well-intention reductionism hardly fosters the criti thinking that leaders of nuclear-age edu tion say they favor. The problem, says Farge, may be that nuclear-age curriculu makers are simply expecting too mu from teachers. "Most teachers have no id how to teach something as complicated thinking skills," she says. "They don't f confident about the subject matter."

For ESR's Alexander, the problem is t same as for public education in general but its scope is limited. "There's poor ed cation going on in the United States ju like poor medicine."

But nuclear-age education does off something that even conservatives decry lacking in American schooling: values. "I a sin to be value-neutral," says Alexand "Responsible educators do advocate ce tain values." Such as: nuclear war is ma ness, superpower relations are more than zero-sum game, and the global enviro ment is, after all, something all the worl inhabitants must share.

If these are values that make critics nuclear-age education uncomfortable, Farge suggests it is because the critics a out of sync: "Schools follow the mood the country. A certain amount of what t peace movement has been pushing h been accepted; the center has moved left bit and it makes them nervous."

At any rate, nuclear-age educators s that the issues they are raising—of peac justice and global survival—are ones th children must begin now to confront they are to become active participants in democratic society. That it is caring teac ers who are teaching children to care abo such issues, they say, should be no thre "People involved in this work have stro values and passions," says Alexand They're people, and their judgment, ing nuity and personality must enter into wh nuclear-age education is all about.

Miranda Spencer is a freelance writer l ing in nuclear-free Hoboken, New Jerse

DEADLINE

A Bulletin From the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media

EPTEMBER/OCTOBER 1988 VOLUME III, NO. 5

Coverage of the Party Conference

The Good, the Bad, And the Outstanding

By Peter Reddaway

American journalists covering the Communist Party Conference in Moscow from June 28 to July 1 faced a difficult challenge. The conference, at which 5,000 delegates assessed the Kremlin's reform program of *perestroika*, was a rather open affair that involved a level of freedom of debate unprecedented in sixty years. Although American and other non-Soviet journalists were not allowed into the conference hall, most reporters seemed to have been satisfied that they had extensive information about what had transpired. Their sources included lengthy television and radio broadcasts, texts of each of the meetings published in Soviet newspapers, and some half-dozen daily press briefings.

By watching television, reading Soviet newspapers, and dashing off to briefings, American journalists could hope to assemble most of the pieces of this giant jigsaw puzzle. But unless they had several colleagues to offer help, those journalists covering developments at the conference had no time to interview a spectrum of people in Moscow and elsewhere, to cover demonstrations by dissident groups, or to put events into historical perspective and analyze them with sophistication.

The flood of potentially relevant information put a premium on the size of one's bureau. Thus *The New York Times,* fielding four writers, had an advantage. By comparison, *The Washington Post* and the *Los Angeles Times* had two writers each and *The Christian Science Monitor* only one, Paul Quinn-Judge. *The Washington Times* relied on wire-service reports and analysis by a reporter in Washington, Martin Sieff.

This essay reviews the coverage produced by these six news organizations from the eve of the conference through July 5. In some instances, the reports of the Moscow correspondents differed over Mikhail Gorbachev's prospects for advancing his program of political restructuring. Whatever the differences in emphasis, the coverage by five of the six news organizations ranged from good to outstanding. A number of important questions about the conference, however, did remain either wholly or partially unexamined. These questions included why, for example, the conference stopped abruptly on Friday, July 1, when it was expected to continue through the weekend, or why Boris Yeltsin, the former Moscow city party leader, figured so prominently at the party meeting. These and other omissions will be discussed later. But overall, writers worked hard at assembling the puzzle, made remarkably few errors, generally kept a sense of balance, and ranged as widely to alternative sources as the resources of their bureaus allowed.

The quantity of coverage actually printed from June 27 through July 5, including all articles directly related to the conference—except op-eds, photographs, and headings—varied markedly. *The Christian Science Monitor* printed 230 column inches, only 30 percent of that run by *The New York Times*—a massive 770 inches. (Special factors contributed to this low figure. The *Monitor* is not published on weekends, and July 4 was a public holiday. As a result, the *Monitor* was not published for three days in a row. This unfortunate fact may account for the relatively narrow range of coverage, which contained little, for example, on economics or outsiders' views of the conference.) Between these extremes was *The Washington Times* with 310, the *Los Angeles Times* with 430, and *The Washington Post* with 490 column inches.

The *Monitor* and the Conference

Although the *Monitor* suffers by this quantitative measure, its correspondent, Quinn-Judge, provided the most sophisticated political analysis, conveying a subtle understanding of the texture of Soviet politics, its key signals and dynamics. He used a range of insider sources unmatched by his professional rivals, sources he has developed over time. While he could not name most of them, he gave them carefully calibrated labels—"usually reliable sources," "a well-placed official," "a radical delegate," "an authoritative source" (who knew what the Politburo had approved), "an official who attends most sessions" of the Central Committee Secretariat, and so on.

Quinn-Judge had also sufficiently won the trust of the experienced economics commentator Vasily Selyunin to earn an exclusive, on-the-record interview in the June 28 issue. Selyunin, a radical, told him that "the reformers have already lost." He noted that although the Central Committee's platform for the conference contained some good ideas, they were mostly "hedged around with qualifiers." Only the sanctioning of a sec-

Inside: Pulitzer Prize Fallout

ond political party, Selyunin said, could institutionalize the true freedom of debate essential for successful reform.

Quinn-Judge's own curtain-raisers, printed on June 27 and 28, were open-minded about the conference's outcome. Relying on debate published in the Soviet media, Quinn-Judge drew a complex picture of the reformists' agenda and the strong challenges to it from the less radical and more conservative forces. These stories were important because the reformers had already lost a crucial battle: the conference would not change the composition of the Central Committee. Gorbachev and his allies had sought this change, but the party had elected delegates who, on balance, were too conservative to support such reform.

Still open, though, were the possibilities of drastically reducing the party's and the ministries' role in economic management, and of limiting the terms in office of party and Soviet officials. The latter issue would be controversial. Officials whom Quinn-Judge interviewed in the Crimea, for example, were unhappy with it. What was most needed from the conference, in the view of a radical delegate, was an authoritative statement by Gorbachev that no alternative existed to radical reform and *glasnost*.

A striking new manifestation of glasnost reported by Quinn-Judge was a collection of reformist essays, *There Is No Other Way,* published in Moscow after the conference. Unlike his journalist colleagues, Quinn-Judge incorporated materials from an advance copy of this important collection into one of his stories. He summarized the contributions by Andrei Sakharov, who attacked the KGB, and sociologist Tatiana Zaslavskaya, who defined the differing attitudes of ten major social groups concerning perestroika.

In describing the mechanics of the conference, Quinn-Judge mentioned a notable fact not reported by others, namely that the head of the Central Committee Propaganda Department, Yuri Sklyarov, is known to reformers as "an ardent conservative." This was important for readers to know, because, as a rough equivalent of White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater, Sklyarov was the conference's chief official spokesman, and his press briefings therefore required scrutiny for conservative bias. Sklyarov's political position is also instructive on the complexity of Soviet politics, since Gorbachev's most committed liberal ally, Alexander Yakovlev, plays a major role in directing the Propaganda Department. However, he shares this role not only with his ideological opponent Yegor Ligachev, but also with Sklyarov. And Sklyarov, we now learn, is apparently on Ligachev's side. This helps to account for the many conservative articles and commentaries in the Soviet media, which were often overlooked by Western reporters—dazzled as they were by the perhaps equal number of liberal items.

Quinn-Judge summed up the preconference balance

(continued on page 8)

SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER 1988 VOLUME III, NO. 5

Coverage of the Party Conference: The Good, the Bad, And the Outstanding 1
How American Correspondents Covered the Historic Moscow Meeting
Peter Reddaway

INF Inspections: U.S. and U.S.S.R. Quietly Limit Press Access 3
Despite "Media Days" at INF Bases, Reporters Will Not Have Access to the Real Verification Story
David M. Rubin

Pulitzer Prize Fallout: Journalists Rethink Attribution 5
Pentagon Reporters Discuss the Question of Attribution In the Aftermath of the Dispute Between National Journal *and* The Philadelphia Inquirer
Daniel Charles

The Talk Shows and the Procurement Scandal 11
Television Short-Circuits Debate on the Latest Round Of Pentagon Profiteering

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Deadline **is published bimonthly by the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media.** © **1988 New York University. Please address letters and all inquiries to *Deadline*, New York University, 10 Washington Place, New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone: (212) 998-7960. All manuscripts submitted to *Deadline* will be read by the editor. They should be submitted in duplicate and accompanied by a self-addressed stamped envelope.**

INF Inspections: U.S. and U.S.S.R. Quietly Limit Press Access

By David M. Rubin

Verification of the INF treaty has begun and journalists are in their "Ivan meets America" mode: Ivan at K-Mart; Ivan at Bob's Big Boy Restaurant; Ivan eyeing the health spa at the apartment complex; Ivan embracing his arms control partners.

The early coverage of the elaborately choreographed verification regime has thus far been overwhelmingly positive about the success of the implementation, but notably short on details. In June, the U.S. On-Site Inspection Agency, which is in charge of implementing the inspection provisions of the treaty for the American side, hosted skillfully planned "media days" to introduce inspections. Various military bases in the U.S. and Europe were opened to journalists, with the banned missiles, launchers, and support equipment on display. These were followed by welcoming events for Soviet inspectors, who began to arrive in the U.S. over the July 4 weekend.

Through these and similar activities OSIA has been successfully emphasizing three points to journalists: first, that verification is proceeding without a hitch; second, that reporters, and therefore the public, are being given wide-ranging access to the inspection process; and third, that despite enthusiasm for the INF treaty, only a small number of secrets are actually being revealed to the Soviets. The first of these points may be true. The second is demonstrably untrue. And the third is certainly true, although the emphasis is curious in this context.

Given the noncontroversial depiction of the process so far, the novelty of missile demolitions and barbecues for Ivan will soon wear thin. INF verification will be dead as a news story before it has a chance to take wing. For although U.S.–Soviet relations may be changing, definitions of news are not. Without another angle to this story, or some dramatic tension, journalists and editors will lose interest. Thus far OSIA and the Soviets appear not to want the press near the real work of verification. Journalists have not complained about this limited access, and, to date, coverage has been cloyingly upbeat and devoid of useful content.

The review of verification coverage that follows is based on news stories in nine newspapers from June 1, 1988, when the treaty went into force, through July 31; and on network television evening news coverage for the first six weeks of this period. (The nine newspapers are *The Boston Globe, Chicago Tribune, Los Angeles Times, The New York Times, The San Diego Union, USA Today, The Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post,* and *The Washington Times*.) Much of this material—nine of ten television reports, and twenty of forty newspaper stories—is standard assignment-desk or photo-opportunity coverage of such arranged events as the media days at the Redstone Arsenal in Alabama, three NATO missile bases in Western Europe, and a Soviet base in the Ukraine. This category also includes the arrivals of Soviet inspectors in Utah and other locations, announcements of future "baseline" inspections to determine the accuracy of the data each side submitted to the other in the INF treaty, and ACDA press releases on the numbers of missiles thus far destroyed.

These media events produced pictures of technicians with power saws attacking missiles and missile launchers, Soviet journalists interviewing American servicemen within sight of the formerly secret Pershing missile, and Americans greeting Soviet inspectors at the Salt Lake City airport.

> An ironic by-product of the INF treaty is that the two governments have teamed up to keep their respective publics in the dark about the details of the inspections.

Limited Access

What journalists were not getting, and therefore not reporting, becomes clear in the stories that appeared in early July after Soviet teams got to work conducting actual inspections of facilities at General Dynamics in San Diego, Davis-Monthan Air Force Base in Arizona, Pueblo Army Depot in Colorado, and Dugway Proving Grounds in Utah. The public learned almost nothing about these inspections except that they occurred and were, according to official sources, successful. They were closed to the press. All future inspections will similarly be closed.

This denial of access, according to OSIA's chief spokesperson, Navy commander Kendall Pease, was negotiated quietly by U.S. and Soviet officials in March and April of this year as the INF treaty was being wrapped up. A "lengthy document" on press access was hammered out, he says, but it will not be made public. It does not have the force of law and is not formally a part of the treaty or its protocols; yet it is keeping journalists away from the real action.

An OSIA official has justified this limit on access with the observation that inspectors are under time pressure and cannot stop to answer press queries. The agency also noted that the large contingent of journalists needed to follow all the inspectors at a site would create unnecessary confusion.

As a result, it is impossible to learn from the news stories how these inspections work. Once again, as is so common in national security stories, journalists have been kept outside, noses pressed against the glass. Typical quotes provided by OSIA spokespeople after the inspections have proven to be as enlightening as the

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"businesslike and productive" statements routinely issued after arms control sessions in Geneva. "They've stayed within the inspection regime," said Commander Pease, as quoted in *The Boston Globe* on July 18, implying, perhaps, that Soviet inspectors did not try to give their American guides the slip. In the July 5 edition of *The Washington Times*, spokesperson Mary Wilson was quoted as saying that the Soviets at Pueblo were "very friendly." The same report included Dugway spokesperson Kathy Whitaker's observation that the Soviets "completed their visit, wrote reports, and changed clothes." *USA Today* also quoted Whitaker on July 5: "From our end of it, we were able to provide them with the opportunity to see what they wanted to and inspect all inspectable areas on the post."

While this fog was clouding the picture, nearly every substantive—and interesting—question about the visits went unanswered. For example, how did the Soviets verify that field training for cruise missile ground launches had been halted in the Arizona desert, as *The Washington Post* reported on July 5? What do inspectors look for? How do they confirm that activity banned by the treaty has actually stopped for good?

If OSIA regards answers to these questions as outside the public's right to know, then how about answers to similar questions on American inspection of Soviet facilities? Should we accept the assurances of OSIA's director, Brigadier General Roland Lajoie, in the July 15 *Washington Times* and Soviet spokesperson Vyacheslav Lebedev in the July 20 *Los Angeles Times* that neither side is cheating? Indeed, the public has no way of knowing—and no greater understanding of how the two sides are cooperating.

OSIA and its Soviet counterpart have also refused, on privacy grounds, to identify inspectors, even though some of the Soviets were portrayed, and named, in broadcasts aired on CBS and ABC on July 2. Nor will inspectors' reports be made public until they have been massaged in Washington and Moscow, if then. What the procedure will be on the public release of any detailed verification information, beyond the number of missiles destroyed, is unclear. Thus an unsettling and ironic by-product of the INF treaty is that the two governments have teamed up to keep their respective publics in the dark about many of the details of verification. This is hardly an anticipated benefit of improved U.S.–Soviet relations.

The situation is, of course, ripe for self-serving leaks and the spread of disinformation by both sides. Questions regarding basic honesty of the treaty partners and how smoothly they can cooperate on military matters are now nearly as susceptible to misrepresentation as comparative force estimates have always been. If a serious difference of opinion does occur in the course of treaty verification, the public is unlikely to get the story without the usual spin.

Good Spies and Bad

OSIA has had to contend with one dark PR cloud in its otherwise sunny sky. Its reaction revealed that, like all public relations operations, its purpose is to open some doors and keep others tightly closed.

On July 22, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that, according to "sources," the U.S. had barred eight Soviet inspectors from entering the U.S. because they were suspected of being spies. In a follow-up story on July 23, Richard Halloran wrote in *The New York Times* that the Soviet spies had been identified from CIA, DIA, and FBI files. OSIA refused to add anything to this story; Commander Pease says only that "the story has never been confirmed by the Department of Defense."

Spies? What else would they be? Six weeks earlier, NBC Pentagon reporter Fred Francis said matter-of-factly in a June 10 report that the Soviets would be sending "intelligence agents" to the U.S. and that the U.S. would be sending its "agents" to the U.S.S.R. What other group of government employees has the requisite skills? Isn't controlled spying what verification is about?

Through early August little more appeared on this story, and it will probably turn out to have been a one-day wonder, since the Soviets made no public response. Nevertheless, an opportunity was lost to discuss the backgrounds and methods of the inspectors and to assess the risks to national security, if any, of permitting additional scores of Soviets and Americans to roam about each other's countries under escort. Instead, the public received a confusing story about Soviet spies that added little to public understanding.

The secrecy surrounding the inspectors has been so complete that this review of coverage did not turn up any stories about who these people are, why they were chosen, and what they will do.

OSIA's touch has been so sure that it has successfully floated an important subsidiary theme in the press. The military men who participated in the Redstone Arsenal media day repeatedly emphasized to journalists how few of the base's secrets the Soviets would see. They succeeded in transforming a story about trust into a story about suspicion. The clear message to the American audience, delivered in the Redstone stories that appeared on CBS (David Martin), and in the *Los Angeles Times* (Melissa Healy), *Washington Post* (Chris Adams), and *Washington Times* (Warren Strobel), was that INF verification is doing little to change the overall military relationship between the two countries. We still don't trust the Soviets. Secrecy endures, and no doubt will endure.

Thirteen years from now, when the verification regime has been completed, it will be possible to assess the impact of the treaty on a variety of issues, including the vital trust question. OSIA, however, has already embarked on a successful campaign to undercut the importance of what is occurring.

One positive aspect of this early verification coverage is that it has occasioned one of the infrequent reappearances of the civil voice in national security affairs. All too often crowded out by government officials with the requisite source credibility to command journalistic at-

(continued on page 10)

Pulitzer Prize Fallout: Journalists Rethink Attribution

By Daniel Charles

The awarding of a Pulitzer Prize last April to Tim Weiner of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* for a three-part series on the Pentagon's secret "black" budget did more than refocus attention on the well-documented growth in the Department of Defense's classified budget. It also exposed a journalistic practice that has irked reporters and editors who work for insider newsletters and magazines, particularly those at such specialized defense publications as *Armed Forces Journal International, Aviation Week & Space Technology, Defense News,* and *Defense Week*. Journalists at these publications complain that the mass-circulation press often relies on them for news tips and entire stories, but rarely acknowledges that debt in print.

The dispute became headline news on April 6, when *National Journal,* the small but influential Washington newsweekly, challenged the Pulitzer given to the *Inquirer* for its series "The Pentagon's Secret Cache," published in February 1987 in the *Inquirer* and in Knight-Ridder newspapers nationwide. Though the *Journal*'s protest was quickly rejected by the executive committee of the Pulitzer board, it succeeded in heightening reporters' sensitivity to the ethical question of when to cite other journalists' work.

The protest charged, in part, that the first installment of Weiner's series, headlined A GROWING 'BLACK BUDGET' PAYS FOR SECRET WEAPONS, COVERT WARS, was "a blatant and egregious case of building a news story according to someone else's blueprint." In this instance, a cover story on the same subject by the *Journal*'s national security correspondent, David C. Morrison, had been published eleven months earlier in the March 1, 1986, issue.

The *Inquirer* series made no reference to Morrison's work, even though sections of the first article appeared to rely heavily on Morrison's research, which remains the most detailed journalistic account of the Pentagon's secret spending. "I think most reporters thought it was a rewrite job," says George C. Wilson, national security correspondent of *The Washington Post*.

In its complaint to the Pulitzer executive committee, the *Journal* did not focus on the lack of attribution, stressing instead what it contended was a paucity of original research. But at the heart of the *Journal*'s protest was frustration at not having its work credited.

"The point we were trying to make . . . ," says John Fox Sullivan, president and publisher of *National Journal,* "was if someone has done some original work—in this case, us—acknowledge it. And if someone wins a Pulitzer for *that*—then okay." Sullivan added, "The reality of it is that the reporters and editors at that other publication did not think anyone would notice it" if *National Journal* was not credited.

Weiner says that he had originally included Morrison's name, along with the names of others who had researched the black budget, in a sidebar, but that his editors had scrapped it because they thought the addition would be boring.

Trickle-Up Journalism

The controversy over the *Inquirer* series is only the most recent example of trickle-up journalism, in which reporters at specialized publications claim that their work has formed the basis of articles appearing in more prominent, general-circulation publications. In the world of defense reporting, where only the trade publications have the time or inclination to track the Pentagon's myriad research and development, procurement, and construction programs, the problem is particularly acute. *Newsweek*, in a brief report it published in its April 18 issue about the Pulitzer controversy, acknowledged that many defense correspondents "feed off a small core of insider specialists," but quoted an unnamed reporter—actually its own national security correspondent, John Barry—as saying, "That's okay. It's the trickle-down theory of journalism."

> "If somebody's paying you $60,000 to cover the Pentagon, they don't want to see *Defense Week* cited in every other story you write."

Trickle-up or trickle-down, the practice is wrong, said Richard C. Barnard, editor of *Defense News* in a May 16 editorial. "It is not okay to 'feed off' defense reporters without citing sources," Barnard said, and offered a number of instances in which he said *Defense News* stories appear to have been ripped off by general-audience publications, including the following:

- In its November 18, 1985, issue, *Defense News* staff writer Steven Eisenstadt reported that military contractors were up in arms over a Navy plan to make them pay for billions of dollars of tooling and testing equipment. More than a week after this issue was available in Washington, however, both *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Washington Post* (November 20 and November 21) reported the same plan, without crediting *Defense News*.
- In its April 11, 1988, issue, *Newsweek* published a story on a new Soviet tank, the FST-1, headlined A TANK IN SHINING ARMOR, which was packaged as a scoop ("Now, *Newsweek* has learned . . ."), but, according to Barnard, "the existence of the tank" had been reported three weeks earlier on the front page of the March 21 edition of *Defense News,* under the headline SOVIETS FASHION TOUGHER BATTLE TANK. Again, *Defense News* was not credited.

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Although Barnard was alone in going public with such tales, several of his colleagues in the specialized press seem to have personal lists of scoops that later made headlines elsewhere.

• In *Defense Week*'s March 28, 1988, issue, editor David J. Lynch reported that an internal memo obtained from the Air Force ballistic missile office recommended that Air Force officials cancel a number of major contracts for the Midgetman single-warhead strategic missile. *The Washington Post,* citing Air Force officials as its source, reported similar news on April 1, ten days after the March 28 *Defense Week* was delivered to Washington-area subscribers. The *Post* did not credit the newsletter.

• On August 22, 1986, *The Washington Post* published a front-page story by George Wilson that began, "The United States has about 50 radar-eluding 'Stealth' jet fighters fully operational under a top-secret multibillion-dollar program, informed sources said yesterday." That day, other papers and the television networks scrambled to catch up with the *Post*. But *Aviation Week & Space Technology* had reported in its July 21, 1986, issue that forty to fifty of the F-19 aircraft had been built, and discussed the materials, engines, and weapons used in its construction.

• In late December 1987, *Armed Forces Journal International* editor Benjamin F. Schemmer wrote a story headlined IS LOCKHEED BUILDING A SUPER-STEALTH REPLACEMENT FOR USAF'S MACH 3 SR-71? The SR-71, a high-flying reconnaissance plane also known as the Blackbird, will be phased out of service in 1989, and Schemmer's article examined circumstantial evidence that the Air Force is secretly building a replacement that will be invisible to radar.

On January 10 and 11, 1988, both *The New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times* published front-page articles claiming that a new supersecret replacement for the SR-71 was in the works. *The New York Times* article, by Richard Halloran, cited "Defense Department officials," and John Broder and Ralph Vartabedian of the *Los Angeles Times* credited "defense industry sources" as well as a number of financial analysts. Neither piece mentioned Schemmer's article.

In response to such claims of story-napping, reporters for the dailies and the newsmagazines acknowledge that the specialty publications are useful to them, but also say that the verdict on who cribbed from whom is not always clear-cut.

In the case of the SR-71 story, for example, Halloran says he saw Schemmer's article only after filing his own. Schemmer sent him an indignant postcard, Halloran says, but "I had to write him back and say, 'Ben, nice story, but I didn't see it until after my story ran.'"

An inquiry into the origins of the *Newsweek* story on the new Soviet tank that sparked Barnard's editorial protest also demonstrates that in the close-knit world of defense reporting, news stories often have an uncertain parentage. In this case, the primary source identified in both the *Defense News* and *Newsweek* stories was retired U.S. Army general Don A. Starry, who chaired a secret study of improvements in Soviet armor by the Defense Science Board in 1985. According to *Newsweek*'s Barry, Starry "had been unilaterally declassifying bits and pieces of the DSB study," resulting in stories on dramatic improvements in Soviet tanks that began appearing in 1987.

> I'm not just sitting here at *The New York Times*, the great rewrite machine in the sky.

Actually, the March 21, 1988, report in *Defense News* was not the first to unveil the new tank. *Defense Week* had described some of the tank's features eight months earlier, in its July 13, 1987, issue. And *The Washington Times* printed a front-page story about the new tank on January 6, 1988.

Moreover, a signed editorial in the April 1988 issue of *Armed Forces Journal,* which went to press one week before *Defense News* published its story on March 21, also briefly described some of the same key features of the tank. When Schemmer of *AFJ* saw *Defense News*'s piece, he was "not impressed." And when Barnard protested that *Newsweek*'s story a week later had been ripped off from *Defense News,* "I almost puked," Schemmer says.

For his part, John Barry says he had been talking to his old acquaintance General Starry—and his editor at *Newsweek*—for months before writing his story about the tank. "We were going to run it a couple of weeks earlier, but didn't," says Barry. "I'd done a draft of the story, then I saw the *Defense News* piece and said, 'Oh, bloody hell.' But we just went with the story."

Editors in New York made matters worse by adding the phrase, "Now, *Newsweek* has learned," Barry says, "but I didn't object, because we'd earned the right to say it ourselves." In fact, *Newsweek*'s story did add significant new information. Its diagram of the tank, says Barry, has since been called "uncannily accurate"

Internships

The Center for War, Peace, and the News Media is accepting internship applications for the fall. Interns assist the Center's staff in research on a number of topics pertaining to coverage of U.S.–Soviet relations, arms control, and nuclear issues.

Applicants should have a strong background in arms control, international relations, Soviet studies, military affairs, or journalism. Academic credit with other institutions may be arranged.

Send a résumé, writing sample, academic transcript, and two recommendations to: Internship Coordinator, Center for War, Peace, and the News Media, NYU, 10 Washington Place, New York, N.Y. 10003.

by Pentagon officials.

Barry's point is that "the single 'bolt out of the blue' piece of news is not that common." Schemmer, perhaps surprisingly, given his postcard protest to Halloran, agrees, saying, "There are no scoops." And Halloran himself says, "I wouldn't be surprised if people live off me a little bit as well. The whole damn business is so incestuous anyway."

When to Cite

Reporters for mass-circulation newspapers and magazines admit that they rely on specialized newsletters and journals to monitor the progress of technology and specific weapons. Because the defense beat is so huge, "Nobody can get his arms around it," says Halloran of the *Times*, adding that defense newsletters serve as a sort of early-warning network that tips him off to emerging stories. But Halloran says he does his own legwork before writing a story: "I'm not just sitting here at *The New York Times*, the great rewrite machine in the sky."

Halloran also describes a sort of statute of limitations that helps him decide whether to cite another publication as a source. "If I see something in *Defense Week* on Monday morning and I write about it Monday afternoon, and it is the key element that triggered my story, I've got to give them credit—absolutely," says Halloran. "But if I throw it in the file and four weeks later I pull it out to get background for my own reporting, I don't feel any compulsion to cite them," he says. "Where the line is, I don't really know."

Most reporters say they draw the line at the point where they can find their own source of information. "If you can confirm it on your own, I don't think you need to give credit," says CBS's Pentagon correspondent, David Martin.

Defense News's Barnard, however, sees a double standard at work. Daily newspapers, he says, "do cite each other. But when they rely on the defense publications, they don't cite them." Reporters are less inclined to acknowledge their debt to the insider military press, he says, "because they know they can get away with it."

Lynch, of *Defense Week*, added another motivation for not citing the specialty press: "If somebody's paying you $60,000 to cover the Pentagon, they don't want to see *Defense Week* cited in every other story you write."

While some reporters for general-circulation publications acknowledge that ego and competition sometimes lead them to claim others' stories as their own, they provide a second justification for not citing previous work: What appears in the specialized press is often not "news" for their medium, they say. To be useful, specialized information in the defense field must be woven into a more general article that provides context for a mass audience that does not know the difference between an SR-71 and the B-1B. This may require significant additional reporting and writing. The story that results, according to some reporters, owes little to the work of a previous writer.

Richard Halloran's work habits illustrate this ethic. He will start a file based on a lead from the specialty press; he will add material to it from various sources over the next few days and weeks. Part of his job, he says, is to decide when that file "has come to maturity" for his audience, at which point he does additional reporting, in part to verify what others have written. In such a case, Halloran says, he probably will not cite the source of the original tip. He also says that members of the specialist press corps ask good questions at press conferences: "You live off these people a little bit at press briefings. I get educated by listening to their questions."

The *Post*'s George Wilson subscribes to a view similar to Halloran's. "If you read *Industry Observer* and one of those ideas is picked up by one of the national papers and made into a feature story with some policy significance, that's a legitimate story for different reasons than it was in *Industry Observer*," he asserts.

But Lynch of *Defense Week* is still not convinced. "To say that trees don't fall in the forest unless *The Washington Post* hears them, or that a story didn't exist until they put it in some kind of context, is absolute bullshit."

Pulitzer Fallout

The controversy over the Pulitzer Prize may finally be creating the ethical climate Lynch, Barnard, and others have urged. Both Halloran and Barnard believe that citations in the popular press for the cutting-edge reporting of specialists are increasing. "There definitely has been a change [since the Pulitzer controversy]," says Barnard. "We have been cited in all kinds of publications for our coverage of the procurement scandal."

"I've become much more sensitive to this issue as a result of the *National Journal–Inquirer* controversy," says Halloran. "Today, when in doubt, cite." Only two days after the Pulitzer executive committee rejected the *National Journal*'s protest, *The Washington Post* cited the newsweekly in four separate articles in a single edition. One of the credits appeared in the third paragraph of a page 1 story about Robert C. Byrd's announcement that he would relinquish his post as Senate majority leader in 1989. In the piece, congressional correspondent Helen Dewar saw the need to credit *National Journal* for a description it used to depict the process leading to Byrd's decision. Even John Fox Sullivan of the *Journal* thought it was unnecessary to credit the *Journal*'s metaphor, which likened the process of selecting a new majority leader to the "workings of the Vatican in the selection of a pope." "I'm sure Helen had read the piece," says Sullivan, "but she's a good reporter and she knows the Hill. It struck me as something that didn't need to be attributed."

When appropriate, attribution is required not "to make journalists feel good about their work," as *Washington Post* deputy investigative editor Steven Luxenberg said in the midst of the Pulitzer controversy. Such citations also help the audience understand the evolution of a story and make a judgment about its authoritativeness. On defense matters, proper attribution is not only good ethics, it is also good journalism. □

The Soviet Party Conference

(continued from page 2)

sheet intelligently in a June 28 report with the following analysis of the progress of reform and the aims of the main political factions:

> The Gorbachev reforms are a desperate effort to break the country's authoritarian tradition and project the Soviet Union to the level of a world economic power. The reforms have so far produced dizzying changes in the openness of intellectual and political debate—and hardly any improvement in the economy.
>
> Reformers hope the conference can close the gap between political discussion and economic change. They are not certain they can do so. . . . [They] say that the reforms have to be pushed through fast, or they are doomed to fail. They will be attempting to come out of the conference with tightly worded, clear-cut proposals for political and economic change.
>
> Conservatives are trying to slow the pace and deaden the impact of reforms. They will try to keep open as many as possible of the loopholes that now riddle the conference theses, or guidelines.

A few days later, on July 4 and July 5, Quinn-Judge assessed the conference in two articles that mixed reportage with analysis. The conference had been "a paradoxical victory" for the Gorbachev forces. It was a victory because they had successfully shifted attention "to the reshaping of political institutions," had achieved a "clear timetable" for this, and, by springing on the conference almost without warning their plan for a strengthened presidency, which Gorbachev could assume alongside his party post, they had brought off a "political coup." But this victory was paradoxical because their program was "a revolution from above" accompanied by a groundswell of apprehension among the rank and file of the party; further, the revolution was designed to "dismantle part of the system that gives the party its authority." This was why Gorbachev needed Ligachev, the trusted representative of the party apparatus. His presence at the top would help to calm the party's apprehensions.

The Challenges to Reform

This assessment by Quinn-Judge came out several notches on the upbeat side of that registered by the paper with the most outstanding overall coverage, *The New York Times*. In the *Times* bureau, and in fact among all the journalists under review, Bill Keller's work stood out as probably the strongest. He wrote on the widest range of subjects and offered informed, nuanced, and well-written reports. But the whole bureau performed at a high level, and it was Philip Taubman, the bureau chief, who on July 3 developed at greatest length the persuasive counterargument to Quinn-Judge's somewhat more optimistic assessment of the prospects for change as a result of the conference.

"At times," Taubman wrote, "it was hard not to sense a dreamlike quality to the event, a feeling expressed indirectly by dozens of delegates . . . that Mr. Gorbachev was preoccupied with important but not burning issues. One after another," Taubman continued, "delegates used their allotted 15 minutes at the lectern not to debate the fine points of Mr. Gorbachev's political proposals, or even their broad outline, but instead to make impassioned appeals for getting the economy moving," drawing attention to the fact that sugar was rationed, "meat is still unavailable, industrial goods have disappeared in places," and so on. Taubman noted Gorbachev's stern warning: "If we do not reform the political system, all our initiatives, the whole massive task we have undertaken, will grind to a halt."

The *Monitor*'s Paul Quinn-Judge provided the most sophisticated political analysis of the conference, which he described as "a paradoxical victory" for the Gorbachev forces.

At this point Taubman reflected: "Now midway through his fourth year as Soviet leader, Mr. Gorbachev has tackled so many problems, and launched so many initiatives, it is difficult to see how they can all be managed, let alone guided to completion." All will "depend on how the conference resolutions are implemented," and especially on whether they will meet "the same resistance as so many of his other programs for change."

A remarkable contrast to the *Times*'s news coverage came on June 29 from one of the paper's editorial writers. Commenting mainly on Gorbachev's opening speech, this writer was quite euphoric about its radical elements, completely ignoring the more conservative ones that Taubman, duly impressed, had reported at length.

Another clash of this sort, with the viewpoints reversed, occurred in the *Los Angeles Times*. This is also one of the few instances in the coverage where a reporter seems to have significantly misinterpreted the tone and direction of the conference. Bureau chief Michael Parks provided some useful information from the usually neglected minority republics. However, he was nearly as enthusiastic about Gorbachev's opening speech in a June 29 story as *The New York Times* editorialist. He then followed up with a second-day story that fully supported the headline GORBACHEV APPEARS TO WIN FAST, WIDESPREAD SUPPORT. This was on the day when other papers emphasized the strength of the conservative opposition to glasnost. The *Los Angeles Times* editorial writer, by contrast, took a more cautious view. For example, whereas Parks saw nothing but bold radicalism in Gorbachev's speech, the editorial writer, on June 30, saw it as combining "candor about the coun-

try's severe economic sickness with caution about some of the more radical remedies that have been proposed."

Parks's third-day report, published on July 1, suddenly took the conservative opposition more seriously, noting how this faction was hard at work in the drafting commissions. But Parks's final-day story seemed to sweep away these fleeting doubts, and his dispatch did not even consider whether the adopted resolutions might prove hard to implement. The same held true two days later when his report, published on July 4, appeared to endorse what he described, without qualification, as "the popular expectation that quite soon, within a few months, actual participation in top levels of government will be open for non-Communists." The only evidence cited for this assessment of "the popular expectation" was the view of one Moscow discussion group. Parks presumably allowed himself this license on the basis of his apparent, but not explicit, belief that the Gorbachev line would quickly sweep the board in the many passionate debates that have been unleashed across the country. This rather naive and unhistorical view is ten times more optimistic than what Gorbachev himself says in his franker moods about the prospects for change.

Parks's other stories, however, on Gorbachev's position on religion (June 30), the campaign against high-level corruption (July 1), and, especially, the Gorbachevites' encouragement of pro-perestroika movements outside the circles that are normally politically active (June 30) were all excellent.

The Washington Post, with two writers in the field, produced coverage that was less broad, but had balance, insight, reliability, and flair. Bureau chief Gary Lee and correspondent David Remnick paid full attention to both the conservatives and the liberals. They studied to good effect the body language revealed by Ligachev and others on television, and the significance of audience applause or—in reaction to much of Gorbachev's opening speech—the lack thereof. Lee's wrap-up on July 3 took a cautious, nuanced view of the outcome, similar to that of *The New York Times.*

Political coverage by the five-person AP bureau was reliable and relatively wide-ranging, but like most wire-service writing did not display much depth in the reporting. This state of affairs appears to stem not from a lack of expertise, but rather from a managerial requirement to write short, frequent, and predominantly factual pieces in a fairly impersonal style.

Finally, *The Washington Times* relied on an eclectic approach, using articles from the AP, Reuters, and Agence France-Presse, supplemented mainly by analysis from Martin Sieff in Washington. For the most part *The Washington Times*'s coverage was less than adequate. However, Sieff did develop the convincing view that while Gorbachev had gained time at the conference, and also the prospect that his reforms might eventually pay off, his immediate vulnerabilities deriving from the state of the economy, the excesses of glasnost, and the threat of growing political disorder were very considerable. Sieff also obtained and excerpted on July 1 some revealing material leaked from a Latvian Central Committee meeting held just before the conference began. The hard-line speech reportedly made by Latvia's KGB chief helped to explain conservative attitudes among the conferees in Moscow. It included this passage: "The KGB has not been performing its duty properly, because we have still not been given specific orders. . . . Radio Free Europe is praising perestroika. Therefore perestroika cannot be a good thing. Power is being taken away from the party. There is even impermissible speculation about the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact [of 1939] on television."

Michael Parks of the *Los Angeles Times* was more optimistic about the prospects for change than Gorbachev himself.

Sieff's scene-setters on June 27 and 28, however, contained too many errors to give one confidence in his overall judgment. The worst error held that Gorbachev wanted the conference to "purge the party's ruling Central Committee plenum of the 600 hard-core opponents of his reforms among its 3,000 members." The Central Committee has only about 300 full members.

Key Omissions

In all the coverage reviewed here, little or no attention was paid to a number of important themes. Had journalists more time and space, these might, of course, have received treatment. Among the themes that warranted attention are the following.

All reporters rightly noted the growing freedom of debate as the conference proceeded. But no one analyzed its limits, and some suggested there were no limits. Tyler Marshall of the *Los Angeles Times,* for example, wrote on July 2 that "suddenly there were no boundaries," and David Remnick of *The Washington Post* said the day before that the delegates were "untouched by fear." But surely this was an exaggeration. No delegate dared to make any sharp criticism of figures like Gorbachev, Ligachev, and Yakovlev, or to discuss the propriety of Gorbachev's apparent intention to assume a strengthened presidency in addition to his party post, or (with a minor exception) to argue the merits of a proposal that Gromyko and three other senior figures should be made to answer for their past failings. Except for some criticism of the invasion of Afghanistan, no one criticized specific areas of foreign policy, or launched serious attacks on the KGB or the military, or took up a number of other issues that a true absence of boundaries would have permitted.

Second, no one seriously investigated why a conference that early in the week was widely expected to run through the weekend stopped abruptly on Friday evening. Dozens of delegates were thus denied the chance to speak, and Gorbachev did not get the detailed discussion of his political reform proposals that he had insistently called for only the previous day. Was it because the limits of debate were threatening to become uncontrollable? Or had Gor-

bachev heard enough lamentation about the economy?

Third, no one ferreted out—until the AP belatedly got on the trail on July 5—why such a delay ensued between the passage of the six major resolutions on July 1 and their eventual release on July 4. The AP obtained a hinted admission that the resolutions had to be edited by the Politburo when it met on July 4. And it pointed to one probable area of editing: the powers of the new post of president. An official spokesman said on July 1 that the post would be endowed with the broad powers Gorbachev had proposed for it. But the published text did not define the powers at all. This may mean that Gorbachev's colleagues in the Politburo took care to clip the additional wings that the presidency would give him.

Fourth, why did Boris Yeltsin figure so prominently at the conference, both as a speaker and as the object of attacks of varying ferocity from Ligachev, Gorbachev, and others? One can easily speculate, but the views of knowledgeable Muscovites would have been welcome in the coverage.

Finally, there were no serious journalistic efforts to quantify, however roughly, the numbers of speakers and delegates occupying different political positions; to categorize speakers by type of job (no minister appears to have spoken except for Yeltsin, a special case); to highlight the different attitudes among most of the national minorities; to quantify the amount of criticism of different institutions, such as particular ministries, the Central Committee secretariat, and so on; or to conduct a thorough analysis of the likely effect of the conference on individual Politburo members. What were the prospects for the members of the Politburo—Gromyko and Mikhail Solomentsev—who were criticized? What did it mean that Gorbachev was the only top-level speaker—on three occasions, for five hours in all—pushing the policy line he represents? Why did his supporters Yakovlev and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze not give speeches?

As politics was central to the conference, other subjects of necessity took a back seat and will not be reviewed here. But coverage of public opinion outside the conference deserves a mention. Here, Esther Fein of *The New York Times* provided an invaluable perspective by filing a report on July 2 from the town of Yaroslavl, but in general, opinion in the provinces and the minority republics received little coverage. Dissidents fared a little better. In a dispatch dated June 28, Andrew Katell of the AP caught the end of a Crimean Tatar demonstration at which all 200 demonstrators were arrested. *The Washington Post*'s David Remnick filed an interesting story on July 1 about an unofficial delegate sent by dissidents and citizens from Magadan. This man was denied access to conference officials, but showed Remnick a videotape of a large public meeting in Magadan that his group had organized.

The party conference was a historic occasion that most of the news organizations under review reported well. It would be interesting to have in addition the opinion of an independent-minded Soviet journalist who covered the conference about the same set of reports. Perhaps, if glasnost flourishes, something of this kind will become possible before too long. □

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INF Inspections

(continued from page 4)

tention, average Americans, like the citizens of Magna, Utah, have been given a chance to express their views about the permanent presence of Soviet inspectors. Susan Kelleher of *The Washington Post* wrote an interesting profile of Magna and its citizens that was published on July 2. Bob Schieffer of CBS on the same day and Fred Francis of NBC on June 10 also provided time for Magna citizens in their stories on the impending arrival of the Soviets.

Another positive aspect is the modest but potentially significant change effected in the Pentagon's long-standing refusal to acknowledge the presence of nuclear weapons at particular locations. As Pease notes, reporters were taken to sites where nuclear weapons are acknowledged to be operational. "Some of the places the press had never been to before," says Pease. "We never confirm or deny the presence of nuclear missiles, but this time we took reporters to areas where they're operating and we took them to storage areas." This dent in the armor of the Pentagon's neither-confirm-nor-deny policy may prove important to journalists in covering other nuclear weapons issues, including the ongoing START negotiations.

Perhaps it is too early to wring one's hands about the direction of the coverage. There are many important events in the verification process to come (see "1988–2001: The Treaty Makes the News," *Deadline*, July/August 1988), particularly the beginning of short-notice inspections on August 29, 1988, and the final elimination of INF missiles, which must be completed by June 1, 1991. If journalists can develop sources beyond OSIA, as well as resist the view that only a potential superpower conflict over verification is news, then a real contribution to public education is possible.

CBS Pentagon correspondent David Martin gave voice to the potential of the INF verification story in the tag to his piece on the Redstone Arsenal media day. General Lajoie noted that he will be supervising 133 site visits over the next sixty days. "That will require nonstop contact between the U.S. and Soviet militaries," Martin said, "two antagonists learning to live together on a daily basis. That could turn out to be as important a benefit of the INF treaty as the destruction of the missiles themselves." Describing this nonstop contact is the true INF story. □

The Television Talk Shows and the Procurement Scandal

Shortly after the insider-trading scandal—Pentagon style—broke on June 14, an indignant David Pryor (D-AR) took to the Senate floor to challenge his colleagues' reaction to the latest round of profiteering at the Department of Defense. "Whatever happened to old-fashioned outrage?" Pryor demanded of his colleagues. "I'm not only outraged as a citizen, I'm ashamed as a U.S. senator for being part of an institution that knows the problem but has been impotent to change it. I'm ashamed for not standing on our desktops . . . [in] the United States Senate and demanding some public hangings."

Such passion, rare as it may be in the Senate chamber, was entirely absent from the Sunday talk-show circuit in the two weeks after the scandal broke. The thirteen different guest-experts who weighed in on four shows offered mostly staid reactions to the unfolding Pentagon scandal, and rarely provided specific recommendations for reforming the way the Pentagon buys weapons.

The views of these guests can be roughly divided into four categories. First is the *bad apples* school, represented most notably by former secretary of defense Caspar Weinberger. "When you're running one of these departments with approximately three million people," he said, "you're at the mercy of one person, or two people, who may be dishonest."

The second group focused on *bad management*, particularly Secretary Weinberger's "hands-off" attitude toward procurement: "It's an example of a secretary of defense not exercising the full authority of his office," said Lawrence Korb, the former assistant secretary of defense for force management and personnel now with the Brookings Institution.

The third group subscribed to the notion that a *flawed system* was to blame.

In addition, a fourth group consists of those few guests who were offered or took the opportunity to provide substantive recommendations for reform. Included in this category were Representative John Dingell (D-MI) and Senator Charles Grassley (R-IA).

The chart below lists the lineups for the shows and the perspectives emphasized by each guest. It illustrates how few of the talk shows featured experts who suggested concrete changes in the procurement system. Missing from the early debate, for example, was discussion of a number of reforms under consideration on Capitol Hill, such as the creation of an independent profit-monitoring agency (introduced as HR 3134 in the House of Representatives in August 1987) or the establishment of an independent procurement corps. Without such specifics, viewers were left confronting a perennial problem with no proposed solutions to consider.

ABC
June 19 **THIS WEEK WITH DAVID BRINKLEY**

Gordon Adams
Director, Defense Budget Project

Lawrence Korb
Former assistant secretary of defense

Rep. Les Aspin (D-WI)
Chairman, House Armed Services Committee

Sen. Sam Nunn (D-GA)
Chairman, Senate Armed Services Committee

June 26

Rep. John Dingell (D-MI)
Chairman, House Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigation

James Falk
Attorney, Government Contractors Association

Don Fuqua
President, Aerospace Industries Association

Sen. David Pryor (D-AR)
Chairman, Governmental Affairs Subcommittee on Federal Services

Caspar Weinberger
Former secretary of defense

CBS
June 19 **FACE THE NATION**

Rep. John Dingell (D-MI)
Chairman, House Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigation

Sen. Charles Grassley (R-IA)
Member, Senate Judiciary Committee

Nick Kotz
Journalist, author of Wild Blue Yonder

David Martin
Pentagon correspondent, CBS News

NBC
June 26 **MEET THE PRESS**

Rep. Les Aspin (D-WI)
Chairman, House Armed Services Committee

Sen. John Warner (R-VA)
Former secretary of the Navy; ranking minority member, Senate Armed Services Committee

Caspar Weinberger
Former secretary of defense

KEY

— "Bad Apples" school.

— "Bad Management" school.

— "Flawed System" school. This includes guests who said the system was moderately or seriously flawed.

— Guests who offered or took the opportunity to provide concrete recommendations for reform.

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The Center bibliography was compiled by William A. Dorman, a professor of journalism at California State University in Sacramento, Robert Karl Manoff, co-director of the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media, and Jennifer Weeks, a research analyst at the Center. The price is $7, plus $1 for postage and handling. To order, please complete the form below.

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CTBT/Continued from page 15

echanism. Improvements in these safety ıtures do not require nuclear testing, arnke noted.

The argument that some stockpiled nu-ar weapons must be exploded periodi-lly to certify their reliability is another l herring. Administration officials have otted it out at critical junctures during the st two years to help thwart three ccessive congressional moves to cut off fense funding for weapons tests above 1 5 kilotons. According to a recently re-ised, declassified version of a report pre-red for the House Armed Services Com-ttee, however, neither the production r the maintenance of nuclear weapons in e stockpile requires nuclear testing to arantee quality control. Written by Ray Kidder, a senior physicist at the Law-nce Livermore National Laboratory, the idy reviewed the records of all U.S. det-ations through 1986 and concluded that should "eventually be possible to main-n the reliability of a stockpile within the nits of a CTB." In a recent interview in *he Los Angeles Times*, Kidder said, " The blic is being hoodwinked" by adminis-ıtion claims.

But assuming that a comprehensive test n can be realized, what would it accom-ish?

Nothing, in terms of ridding the world any perfected bomb designs. Congres-onally authorized weapons systems that ve already been adequately tested or de-oyed (such as the MX and Trident II war-ad and the neutron bomb) would not agically disappear.

Nor would a test ban treaty prevent the velopment of newer, stealthier or more curate launch vehicles. "You can take to-y's warheads and adapt them to different livery systems," explained Chris Paine, a ennedy aide.

That is why SANE/FREEZE's disarma-ent agenda also calls for a missile-flight st ban as well as an end to the Trident II -5 program and Star Wars, said SANE/ REEZE's Cottom. A CTBT represents "the st piece [in the picture], but not the total cture."

Nor would a comprehensive test ban op nuclear weapons producers from ply-g their trade, said Jeffrey Duncan, a legis-tive aide to Rep. Edward Markey (D-lass.), who has helped pass the House's kiloton measure for three straight years. f you had a test ban in place and a pro-am of stockpile inspections, non-nuclear sting and remanufacture, then from the oint of view of the weapons producers, ey're not really put out of business. They can continue producing weapons at a relatively low rate of production to replace the stuff that deteriorates over time."

What a CTBT would do is freeze the modernization process the moment it takes effect, aborting the development of new strategic warheads and new tactical nuclear weapons and interdicting further work on the nuclear components of the SDI program. For the future of disarmament, it is an indispensable companion to arms reduction agreements. Without it, the United States and the Soviet Union could agree to beat half their swords into plowshares while retooling one-third of their pruning hooks into guns.

Finally, a comprehensive test ban would give a dramatic fillip to the cause of peace both here and abroad. "Psychologically," said Paine, "a test ban—and especially a comprehensive test ban—would have an enormous impact. If people see that the country is willing to accept a comprehensive test ban, then they can begin to imagine the country ending the arms race. So, in that sense, a CTB may be the most difficult of all agreements to achieve."

Meanwhile, bombs continue to be detonated under the Nevada desert. PSR's Cassell, who toured the Nevada test site last January, courtesy of the DOE, described her experience as deeply disturbing. Everywhere the bus went, she said, "you would see this pockmarked landscape, these enormous holes in the ground" produced by 25 years of underground testing. What appeared to be mirages—huge silvery pools of water—were not mirages at all, but huge scars caused by hundreds of atmospheric tests that literally scorched the earth and fused the sand into glass. Further on, she said, the bus passed the site of many civil defense-related tests of the 1950s and early 1960s. "They constructed these little towns and then just blew them away," Cassel said, "but all the shards are still out there—not because scientists are trying to demonstrate anything, but because it's a big place and they can just move on to another spot to do something else. It's a museum of madness."

Nevada's slash-and-burn landscape is an ongoing reminder of the insanity of the nuclear arms race. It is also a symbol of the Reagan administration's implacable hostility to a comprehensive test ban that might help bring that arms buildup under control. More than anything else, it recalls the words of the historian Tacitus, who said of the Roman imperial war machine, "They make a desolation and call it peace." □

Mel Friedman is a freelance writer living in New York City.

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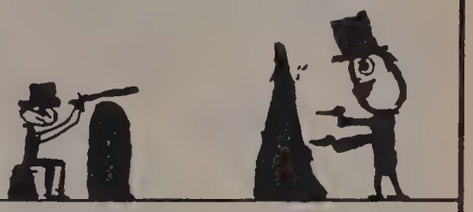

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PEACE STUDIES COMES OF AGE

As programs proliferate on college campuses, academics are struggling to define what it means.

JOHN FEFFER

When Barbara Wien answered her telephone one day last year and found that Richard Perle was on the line, it was a sure indication it peace studies had finally graduated to academic big time.

What did the "Prince of Darkness"—the mer assistant secretary of defense under nald Reagan—want from a peace studi specialist at the Institute for Policy Studi, that favorite target of right-wing redting? Advice, believe it or not, on which ace studies programs the U.S. governnt should fund through its Institute for ace. Perle, who used to sit on the instite's board, called Wien several times afwards asking for additional assistance, aich she has given despite her skepticism the institute's political goals.

What's going on? It was difficult enough cting used to Ronald Reagan's newfound rmth for the "Evil Empire." Now, the ost hawkish administration in decades is ing peace studies a good name, not to ention a million dollars a year.

With such mainstream benefactors, ace studies has apparently made the ssful transition from orphan-child of acamia to family member in good standing. here five years ago, peace studies proums were scrambling for students and hting off charges of trendiness, today ch programs are receiving millions of llars annually and enrolling thousands of idents. The statistics are impressive:

More than 300 colleges and universities er peace studies courses;

150 colleges offer degree programs and have graduate programs;

111 law schools offer courses in alternative dispute resolution compared to only 10 schools a decade ago;

■ The Peace Studies Association recently formed to serve the needs of the growing community of peace educators.

Why such success? In part, the flowering of peace studies can be credited to the disarmament movement. The Freeze campaign of the early 1980s gave nuclear war issues such wide exposure that significant numbers of students were drawn to courses and institutions that taught about those issues. Since the demise of the Freeze, peace studies has continued to grow, evolving beyond the study of nuclear weapons issues.

This evolution, however, has triggered a debate within the peace studies community. Has success transformed peace studies into just another academic subject? Has peace studies become *too* respectable?

GARY WEAVER LECTURES LIKE A stand-up comedian. In his graduate class on cross-cultural communication at American University in Washington, D.C., Weaver peppers his presentation with anecdotes about cultural misunderstandings. There's the one about the visitors from Botswana who try to tip the cashier at Burger King and the one about the Moslem farmer who takes religious offense when pressed by an insensitive American official to predict the future of his crops.

Weaver's class is not your stereotypical peace studies course. He makes little mention of nuclear weapons, global security, international law or nonviolence. It's not "touchy-feely," but it's not heavy on academic jargon either. His syllabus is bulging with books and articles on culture and history. For all of Weaver's funny stories, this is a serious class.

Nor do the students in the class conform to the peace studies stereotype. No tie-dyed Deadheads. No fire-and-brimstone ideologues. Instead, there are a few middle-aged students, conservatively dressed. Several students major in international education, others in international relations. There is even one student who carefully explains during the break that he is in "conflict management," *not* peace studies. Most students stress they are in the class to learn skills, not simply facts and statistics.

With its academic rigor and interdisciplinary spirit, Weaver's class is a good example of the new generation of peace studies instruction, a field now entering its fifth decade. The first peace studies courses, established in 1948 at Manchester College in Indiana, were primarily attempts to grapple with the central paradox of the postwar age: the invention of the atom bomb and the founding of the United Nations. Those early courses, according to Ken Brown, director of the Peace Studies Institute at Manchester, tended to be more philosophical than technical, favoring the study of Gandhi over the analysis of atomic war. During the Cold War, the field barely survived by concentrating on ideologically "safe" topics like world law.

At the height of the Vietnam War protests, peace studies gained new momentum, as activists sought to straddle the gap between ideas taught in the classrooms and demands shouted over bullhorns at demonstrations. Programs sprang up at Kent State, Notre Dame, Colgate and Penn State. When campus activism tailed off, some programs, like Penn State's Center for the Study of World Problems, suffered premature deaths.

A decade later, however, peace studies

was back with a new focus: nuclear weapons. The enormous popularity of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze campaign spread onto campus, and suddenly peace studies—originally conceived as a multi-issue discipline—became linked in the public mind with disarmament studies.

"There was a big surge in the early 1980s," says Michael Klare, director of the Five College Peace and World Security Studies Program in Amherst, Massachusetts, "and we thought that it would peter out. But in fact the growth of programs has continued at a steady rate in the 1980s." Klare's office receives notices of new programs at the rate of two or three a month and he estimates that there are at least twice as many that he doesn't hear about.

Unlike those developed in the Freeze days, the new programs reflect a trend away from a nuclear weapons emphasis. The very titles of the programs give an indication of their diversity: global studies, conflict resolution studies, peace and nonviolence studies. As Klare points out, "You can't really find two programs with the same name. The field is really peace studies and then 'fill in the blank.'"

The differences in course titles are also reflected in curriculum content. Where five years ago, Klare notes, courses on nuclear weapons contained mostly nuclear scare literature, a similar course today covers a much wider range of issues: the history of the arms race, nuclear doctrine, U.S.-Soviet relations, verification and compliance, Third World issues. And these new courses frequently offer literature from a pro-nuclear point of view as well, treating nuclear weapons as necessary evils.

The students who take such courses have often undergone a similar evolution themselves. Initially drawn to peace studies because of an interest in preventing nuclear war, they often end up focusing on another aspect of the field. Dale Largent, a senior at Manchester College, says that he turned to peace studies because of an interest in disarmament. Now, however, he concentrates his studies on interpersonal conflict resolution and the historical roots of war. Deborah St. Claire, a graduate student at Columbia Teachers College, discovered peace studies because of a seminar she attended on arms control. Now she believes "that there is more to peace education than nuclear age education."

DESPITE THE INCREASED POPULARITY and, some say, sophistication of peace studies, old criticisms can still be heard: "You can't do anything with a peace studies degree," "Peace studies is biased," "Peace studies isn't rigorous."

Secretary of Education William Bennett and various right-wing think tanks have attacked peace studies because they say it has allowed leftists to infiltrate American campuses. Leftists themselves criticize peace studies for not being sufficiently advocacy oriented.

New peace studies programs still have to address these questions. But, as many programs successfully move into middle age,

'Arms control studies has done a lot of damage. It has further institutionalized the arms race.' — Barbara Wien

the debate is no longer fueled by outside critics. Peace educators are now beginning to debate among themselves.

The first question debated is a definitional one: what should and should not be considered peace studies. The field, after all, is not an undifferentiated mass. Listed cheek-and-jowl in peace studies course catalogs are classes on arms control and hunger, nonviolence and human rights, women's issues and the environment.

But it isn't so much the range of topics that causes friction. More divisive in peace studies is the *respectability* of the issues. The field is a continuum, stretching from topics offbeat and radical like "future imaging" to mainstream concerns like arms control negotiating.

Colman McCarthy clearly falls in the offbeat camp. As a peace educator and syndicated columnist, he has raised many administrative eyebrows with his innovative teaching style and controversial views on the virtues of nonviolence. At American University in 1986, McCarthy initially let his students grade themselves before the university insisted on the more traditional arrangement. His lengthy reading list, which is virtually all "unrequired," joins Martin Luther King and pacifism together with vegetarianism and anti-abortionism.

Finally, McCarthy encourages his students to volunteer in the community. "High school and college students tend to be idea-rich but experience-poor," he says. "One solution I've found is to take them into the community: to literacy programs, homeless shelters, soup kitchens, or homes for the elderly and get them to volunteer there during the semester. They've lear more in one week about the English guage while teaching in a literacy prog than in majoring in English."

This emphasis on "experiential" ed tion and internships in the community tributes to making peace studies progr unique in academia. But some educa fear that peace studies is in danger of lo its uniqueness. Peace studies at the uni sity level has become "too discipl bound," says Betty Reardon, a professo Columbia Teachers College. Contras teaching *about* peace and teaching peace, Reardon maintains that peace way of life, not simply an academic d pline like political science. The idea peace studies, she explains, is not simpl establish one little corner of academia teaches peace. Rather, she argues, p studies should be spread throughout entire academic curriculum.

The institutionalization of peace stu in the academy has been accomplish others argue, at considerable cost to o nal ideals. "As peace studies succeed gets assimilated, co-opted," says Rol Johansen, senior fellow at Notre D University's Institute for Internatio Peace Studies. "Peace studies courses adopted by universities, but the conten the courses gets watered down." courses that achieve the most succes this context, he continues, "are those tend to be heavily empirical and do challenge the underlying assumptions the status quo."

Those courses most accepted within university make up the "respectable" of the peace studies spectrum: arms con or security studies, international relati and conflict resolution. In some p studies programs, all three coexist in same department. But some educators careful to stress the distinctions, for stance, between peace studies and a control studies. "People entering the cane world of arms control lose sight of fundamental questions," says Barb Wien. "Arms control studies has done a of damage. It has further institutionali the arms race."

But perhaps the largest irritant to p educators involved in nonviolent studie world order studies is the financial supp lavished on the three sister fields. A control studies receives the lion's shar foundation support. The MacArthur Fo dation, for instance, sends the majority its institutional grants to high-profile str gic studies programs at Columbia Uni sity, Stanford University and the Univer of Maryland. Conflict resolution progra like George Mason's in Virginia or S

: University in New York, have at-:ted sizable contributions from vlett-Packard's foundation.

urthermore, the major foundations fa-graduate programs, primarily in strate-studies, leaving undergraduate educa-n out in the cold. "We think ergraduate education is very impor-," says Joel Federman, associate direc-of the Peace and Conflict Studies Pro-n at University of Southern California C). "But the foundations haven't come nd to that yet. They want a tangible duct, but they don't realize that stu-ts are tangible products."

or many undergraduate peace studies artments, the financial situation is pre-ous. For example, at Berkeley's Peace Conflict Studies program—despite ie outside funding—the professors n't even paid for the peace studies rses they teach. Many undergraduate grams "rely on the good will of faculty lo additional work for which they are npensated little," according to Neil z, director of the Program in Nonvi-nt Conflict and Change at Syracuse Uni-ity. "It's often a way for the university et more mileage out of faculty because heir passion and commitment."

Vith major funding sources often inac-ible to them, many programs have be-to look elsewhere. USC has linked up n progressive Hollywood stars like bra Streisand, who provided a $15,000 nt through her foundation. At the Uni-sity of California at Irvine, the Global ce and Conflict Studies program funded nair in peace research entirely through ntributions from local businesses. Notre me's Institute for International Peace dies has been blessed with a generous ncipal benefactor, philanthropist Joan c, the widow of the late McDonald's mburger chain magnate. Kroc's founda-n has given the program $12 million, a re only dreamed about by peace studies ponents several years ago.

nd then there's the U.S. Institute for ce, established in 1986 to promote ceful resolution to international con-. In 1988, Congress allocated $4.3 mil-n, of which at least one quarter must be n to research programs: a cool million peace research.

Many activists, however, are suspicious the institute's goals. "Everyone knows t the deck is stacked against peace stud-in terms of getting meaningful support n the institute," says Robert Elias, nder of the Peace and Justice Program Tufts University.

Why? Some point to a board of directors t consists of *ex officio* members like Lt. General Bradley Hosmer, president of the National Defense University, and Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci. Others note that the grants are principally directed to large research centers like the Brookings Institution or the Hoover Institution, rather than small, poorly-funded peace studies programs.

But even the institute's harshest critics realize that it operates very much like a foundation, rarely funding smaller programs, and generally going with the institutions with proven track records. And the institute's grants are minor compared to the other money available: one million dollars is only 9 percent of what the MacArthur Foundation provided in institutional funding alone in 1987.

So the money is out there for peace studies, but only for a certain type of peace studies: conflict resolution, arms control studies, research fellowships. What about the more visionary peace study programs? "They don't have to be competing factions," says Barbara Wien. "They could be complementary. Some people are trying to bridge the gap, but I'm skeptical. The future of peace studies is up for grabs." ☐

John Feffer is a Scoville fellow working at Nuclear Times.

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ALTERNATIVE SECURITY/DAVID MOBERG

BEAST OF BURDEN

SHOULD EUROPE PAY MORE OF THE NATO BILL OR CAN WE LIGHTEN THE DEFENSE LOAD OVERALL?

As the Reagan military buildup crashes against a budget-deficit brick wall and worries deepen about U.S. economic decline, the call is being sounded for American allies to shoulder a bigger share of the Western military burden.

On the campaign trail, Jesse Jackson has made the case most forcefully. But to lesser degrees, Michael Dukakis and even George Bush have been insisting that U.S. allies, especially those in NATO, pay their "fair share." Earlier this year, Congress unanimously resolved that the United States should negotiate with Europe and Japan for a more equitable division of the burden, while rejecting proposals that would have required the United States to withdraw troops from Europe if its allies did not accelerate their military spending.

Obviously, "burden sharing" means different things to different advocates. Often raised by liberals as an argument for cutting military spending, the concept is equally embraced by conservative isolationists who want to boost arms spending overall by forcing the Europeans to spend more.

Whatever its meaning or merits, the idea of burden sharing has opened a new debate on defense and foreign policy: Is the military now too great a burden? What are our real security interests and what kind of defense do we need? Have we been using military might and spending for political ends rather than national security? Above all, is there an opportunity not just to reshuffle the burden but to reduce it overall, providing more security with fewer arms?

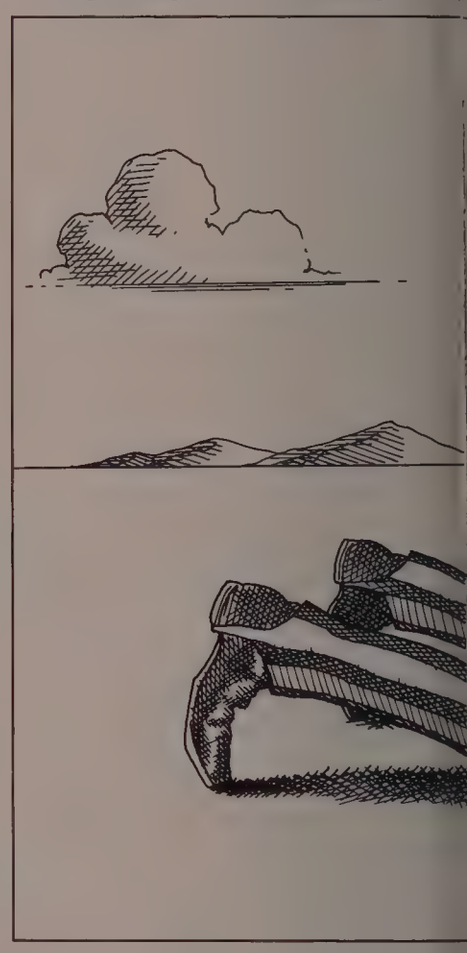
It is easy to argue that we spend a disproportionate amount defending Western Europe. The United States has always spent a larger share of its gross national product on the military than its allies: around 6.5 percent in 1985, almost double the 3.3 percent average spent by our major allies (West Germany, for example, spends 3.1 percent of its GNP and Japan only 1 percent). In the last decade, U.S. spending grew an average of 5.8 percent a year, nearly triple the growth rate for other NATO countries. Overall, the United States foots more than two-thirds of NATO's total bill, while its economy is only 53.6 percent of the alliance's combined GNPs. At home, this means $1,120 spent on the military for every U.S. citizen. Yet no other country in NATO spends even half that amount (Germany, the biggest and richest European ally, spends $455 per capita).

Defenders of the status quo respond that Europeans shoulder other burdens, including the risk of war in their countries and playing host to NATO forces stationed on their soil. They contend that the costs to Europe are underestimated; some countries, for example, have a low-cost military draft or provide support whose costs go untallied. And as Gordon Adams and Eric Munz argue in a report for the Defense Budget Project, *Fair Shares: Bearing the Burden of the NATO Alliance,* some armed forces deliver more bang for their bucks. Evaluating effective firepower on the critical Central European front, they estimate that West Germany, for example, provides close to its share of defense.

But the numbers game can go on indefinitely. Some burden-sharing proponents argue that European contributions are actually overcounted, or that all U.S. strategic nuclear and worldwide conventional forces *should* be counted, since they could be thrown into a European conflict. In rebuttal, opponents argue that U.S. NATO commitments defend America, not just Europe, and that European countries cannot contribute more because of domestic political opposition. Some European conservatives say bluntly that the extra U.S. costs are the price the United States must pay for being a world power. Still others threaten darkly that if America cuts back, Europe will cut a deal with the Soviets and succumb to "Finlandization."

For their part, some American conservatives are urging the allies to spend more so the United States can spend more. After the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty was signed, they called for increased U.S. spending on conventional weapons and on substitutes for eliminated weapons, such as new cruise missiles and additional deep-strike aircraft. Conservatives like former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, on the other hand, prefer an increased European commitment to NATO so that the United States can deploy its forces more readily in other hotspots around the world.

Times Have Changed. But as retired A
ral Eugene Carroll of the Center for
fense Information observes, conserva
refuse to recognize that "the key fact is
times have changed." Both superpo
are now economically strained by their
itary spending, there is strong Euro

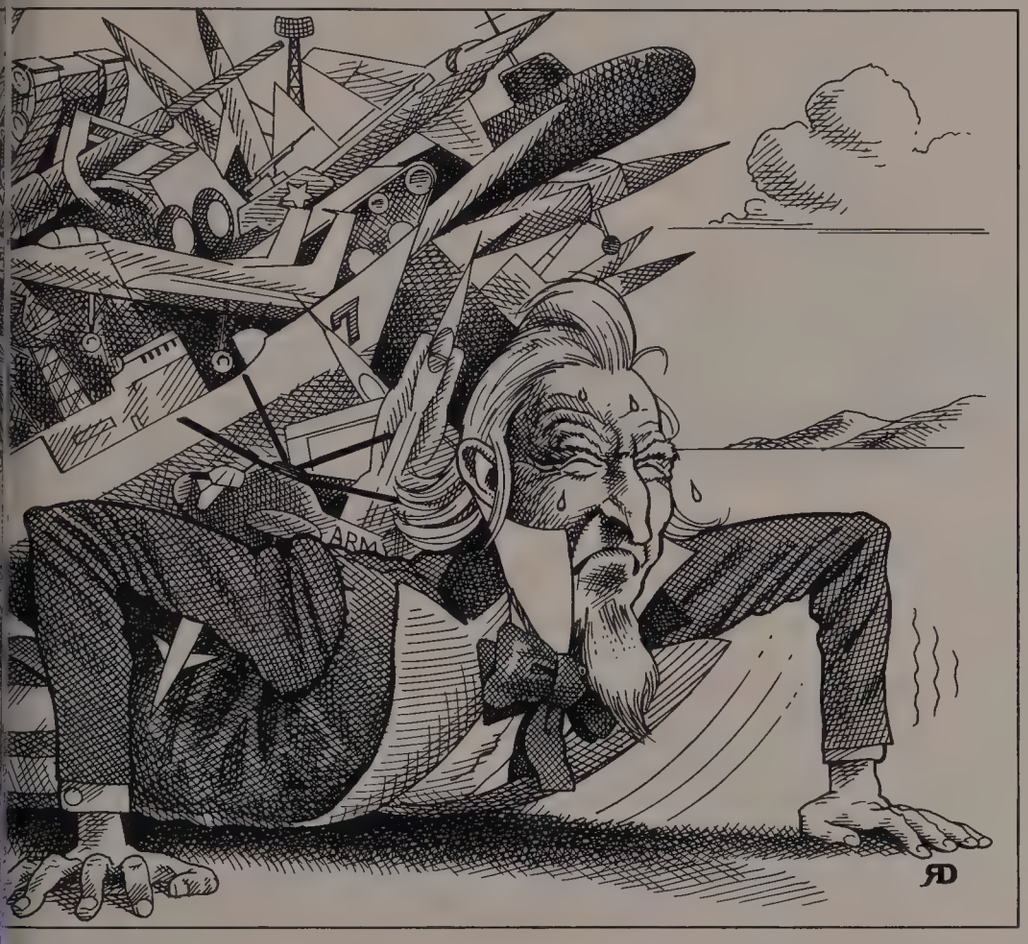


public opinion against deployment of
arms, the Soviet Union is changing sig
cantly under Mikhail Gorbachev, and
United States runs increasing costs—
declining effectiveness—in its attempt
police the Third World.

Pam Solo, chief of staff for Rep.
Schroeder's (D-Colo.) congressional p
on burden sharing, believes that bes
U.S. economic decline, the INF Trea
the most important development dri
the burden-sharing debate. "The
agreement brings up the question of
direction the Soviets are going, the poss
ity of reducing conventional forces and
relations between East and West, of
two Germanies in particular," says S
"Irving Kristol and Ronald Reagan

clared Cold War ideology at an end. hat will replace it?"

The contemporary debate over burden ring opens a Pandora's box of political estions that have long been kept under k and key. For example, if the European untries supposedly being defended inst Soviet aggression do not spend re on their military, is it because they n't deeply worried about the prospect? uld it be the United States is buying pocal influence over Europe as much as fense against real threats with its NATO penditures? Is it true, as Dan Plesch, ditor of the British American Security Inmation Council (BASIC), argues, that European "military situation no longer



s any political justification but is a freeinding enterprise that reinforces itself"?

Today, however, West Europeans, inuding many conservatives, want to exnd trade and cultural relations with East-n Europe. An opening to the West could courage liberalization in the East, which turn could reshuffle old left-right politil debates in Western Europe. It could o, some in both East and West fear, lead the reunification of Germany.

"Such evolutionary changes are inevble," says Carroll. And locking ourselves to old military patterns to try and prevent ch change, he says, is untenable: "We can longer sustain a world in which the estern Alliance confronts the Soviet ion in a bipolar relation. There is no immutable alignment of nations and issues. The problem is to manage those changes."

Reducing the Burden. Although burden sharing has widened the debate on real security, "it's the wrong question," says Jonathan Dean, arms control adviser for the Union of Concerned Scientists and head of the U.S. delegation to the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) negotiations from 1978 to 1981. "The real issue should be, 'Can we reduce the common burden?' rather than 'How much can we convince Europeans to take a share of the continuing large burden?'"

Dean, who thinks the Europeans are doing their part, argues that the East-West confrontation itself has been rendered obsolete by West Germany's acceptance of the German Democratic Republic, by the decline of European communist parties and by the growth of the Soviet Union's internal problems. Gorbachev has suggested real reductions in conventional arms, but Dean believes the United States and most West European negotiators may fail to seize the opportunity. "They operate on the assumption that the confrontation is going to continue at the present level, and willfully ignore the possibility it can be lowered. We've gotten so used to the idea that arms control won't make any savings that we won't even look at it."

But starting this fall in Vienna, two East-West conferences scheduled to review the Helsinki accords may provide an opportunity to discuss seriously prospects for real disarmament. One conference will focus on confidence-building measures to reduce tensions and the possibility of accidental conflict. In a separate conference, all 16 NATO countries and the seven Warsaw Pact nations will also talk about reducing military arms throughout Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, a vast expansion beyond the Central European focus of earlier unsuccessful MBFR talks.

Randall Forsberg, director of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, believes that by widening the geographic scope of the talks, negotiators increase the chance for real arms cuts. But this will also complicate negotiations. For example, if the United States pulls back its forces to reciprocate a Soviet retreat beyond the Urals, would it demobilize army units and destroy tanks? If not, new bases would have to be built in the United States for soldiers and weapons brought back from Europe—something that would increase costs. And what would happen to U.S. attack aircraft? Unlike Soviet tanks, these could easily be reintroduced into Europe or replaced with other categories of planes or cruise missiles.

Counting and Cutting. Forsberg says that Western advocates of burden reduction in Europe fall into two camps. One advocates bilateral, negotiated reductions. The other calls for unilateral actions by Western countries to reorganize their armies into strictly defensive forces, with the expectation that this will trigger a series of moves towards military restructuring on both sides. For their part, the Soviets have informally proposed negotiated cuts concentrated on long-range, offensive weapons, such as eliminating 20,000 Soviet tanks in exchange for cutting 1,400 U.S. aircraft.

Much is made of the superior Warsaw Pact tank force, which NATO wants to scale down. But the West has not been willing to yield its technological edge in aircraft, Forsberg says. Lutz Unterseher and Malcolm Chalmers, two West European military analysts, argue in the summer issue of *International Security* that NATO includes only first-line equipment in its own force counts, but includes antiquated tanks in its Warsaw Pact figures. Yet in new first-line tanks the sides are about equal. And if the superior fighting quality of NATO equipment is considered, NATO has a 1.2-to-1 advantage over the Warsaw Pact even in tank power. Similar calculations show NATO possesses air superiority as well.

The United States has so far declined to respond to the Soviet trial balloon on tank-for-plane reductions, which Forsberg says represents fairly balanced cuts of about 20

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percent on each side. The United States has indicated it will not eliminate any aircraft or anything more than a modest number of tanks. Military leaders argue that anything more than a 10 percent ground force reduction would leave holes in NATO's front lines.

Dean proposes a 50 percent cut in manpower and equipment over a 10-year period. That would cut armies by 1.5 million men on both sides and concentrate arms reductions on weapons that can be used for deep penetrating attacks, such as tanks, armored personnel carriers, ground attack aircraft and attack helicopters. If these forces were decommissioned, the United States could save $75 billion a year.

"If there are deep cuts in the ability to attack," says Dean, "NATO can go to a different posture, one that can maintain forces in Germany on the front line but lead to a restructuring of forces with a smaller armored force aligned behind [infantry] forces in front."

Unilateral Moves. Given the difficulties of agreement on force counts, bilateral negotiations are certain to be slow and cumbersome. In addition, some advocates of alternative security systems for Europe think that the bilateral approach could backfire, triggering the kind of race to build bargaining chips that has characterized stra arms control negotiations. These pr nents think each side should instead in its own reorganization: pulling back t and other aggressive equipment fron front, limiting infrastructure and w ons—such as deep-strike aircraft an sault helicopters—that make attacks sible, and dispersing their own mil targets, for example, with concealed, in infantry units.

The theory is that such an initiativ one side would trigger a similar resp from the other. But it would be politi tough to take the first step. And Forsberg argues, the alternative sec model has been best drawn for Germ applications for the rest of Europe are being developed.

Whether unilateral or bilateral, a 50 cent cut could run into massive ins tional resistance from armed services willing to shrink. Forsberg cautions, " is a more politically difficult task than clear arms control," which involves the elimination of particular weapons.

Yet the move, she says, must be m "We should change the burden. The U spending more than the NATO count and I don't think we should. If they d feel threatened, we shouldn't feel th ened. To be out ahead means we pl hegemonic role trying to get people line with our view of the world."

And as Pam Solo argues, ultima "burden sharing means power shari For the United States, that means accep a less dominant role.

Still, many liberal politicians, fearfu being tagged soft on defense or com nism, continue to call for forcing the a to pay more or beefing up conventi defense. In a June speech to the Atla Council, a private U.S. policy sup group for NATO, Dukakis voiced the that the allies should be paying their share and restated his proposal for a " ventional defense initiative," in which United States would "apply advanced t nology to the challenge of fighting— winning—a conventional war."

But Dukakis also talked about "subs tial reductions in conventional forc "new ways to build confidence betw the two sides," and changes in military trine and force structure. Those rem suggest a new administration might open to developing a new alternative s rity system, not just finding alterna ways to finance and modernize the c and politically outdated system in place

David Moberg is a senior editor a These Times.

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NATO DIRGE

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yond American Hegemony *by David lleo ($20.95, 288 pages, Basic Books, 87);* **Dealignment** *edited by Mary ldor and Richard Falk ($34.95, 265 ges, Basil Blackwell, 1987);* ***"Does ATO Exist?"*** *in* **Reflections of a eoconservative** *by Irving Kristol ($9.95, 6 pages, Basic Books, 1983);* **How ATO Weakens the West** *by Melvyn rauss ($18.95, 271 pages, Simon and huster, 1986).*

Nearly a decade ago, Trotskyist turned neoconservative writer Irving Kristol wrote an essay, "Does NATO Exist?" In reply to the ques- on he wrote, "After an initial decade of ite vigorous existence, NATO ceased to a living reality . . . sometime in the not o distant future, the appropriate funeral rvices will occur."

Although no date has been set for its rial, NATO funeral arrangements are be- g prepared and an unusual cortège of ana- sts has volunteered to carry the moribund stitution to its grave.

NATO's would-be pallbearers are a di- rse lot. They represent left, center and ht political traditions. From the left, lary Kaldor and Richard Falk, proponents of "de-alignment," are joined by novelist Gore Vidal, who urges speedy withdrawal from NATO in the *Nation* (June 4, 1988). Centrist Johns Hopkins Professor David Calleo, a member of what *The New York Times* calls the "School of Decline," suggests that the defense of Europe "devolve" to the Europeans. The *Times*' own William Safire, who once wrote speeches for Richard Nixon, agrees that "NATO is now a paper alliance" (*The New York Times*, April 7, 1988). Retired Rear Admiral Gene La Rocque, writing in the July 1988 issue of *Harper's*, says that "the Europeans must be weaned" from their reliance on the United States and that U.S. troops should be withdrawn by the end of the century. And conservative Hoover Institution fellow Melvyn Krauss says flatly that the United States "must abandon NATO."

These authors urge "de-alignment," "withdrawal," "devolution" and "abandonment" for different reasons. Some do so because they believe the economic cost of U.S. participation in NATO is burdensome [see David Moberg's article on page 26]. And some argue the Soviet military threat has receded and U.S. forces should be deployed against more urgent threats, in the Persian Gulf for instance. Others argue that U.S. forces should be reshaped into a more defensive or "non-provocative" profile. Taken singly, none of these authors satisfactorily address the issue. But together, they make the case that NATO has outlived its usefulness.

A review of NATO's history will help explain why it has come under attack.

The Rise and Demise of NATO. At a series of wartime and postwar summit conferences, U.S. and Soviet officials created a new interstate system to replace the one dominated by colonial European empires before the war. U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt and Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin agreed that the new system would consist of independent, not colonized, nation-states. And they organized the United Nations to promote "self-determination" and "collective security" for the emerging system's constituent members.

Although the United States and the Soviet Union admitted Burma and Panama as equal members of the U.N.'s General Assembly, the superpowers raised themselves above other nation-states by giving themselves the right to veto decisions that would constrain their ability to exercise power in their respective spheres of influence.

At the founding conference of the United Nations in 1945, U.S. officials moved to consolidate the U.S. sphere. Nelson Rockefeller, then a young assistant secretary of state for Latin American affairs, helped draft an amendment to the U.N. Charter that permitted the formation of regional political-military alliances outside the U.N. U.S. representatives insisted that Article 51 be included so that they could formally enroll Latin American countries in an alliance that would keep the Monroe Doctrine intact. U.S. delegates were anxious to preserve the 1823 Monroe Doctrine, which was supposed to "protect" Latin America from interference by European powers *and* "permit" U.S. intervention in the region.

After establishing the creation of military blocs as a matter of right, U.S. diplomats subsequently enrolled countries around the world into regional, "common security" regimes: ANZUS (from which the United States excluded Great Britain, a humiliation for the British), SEATO, CENTO, and, of

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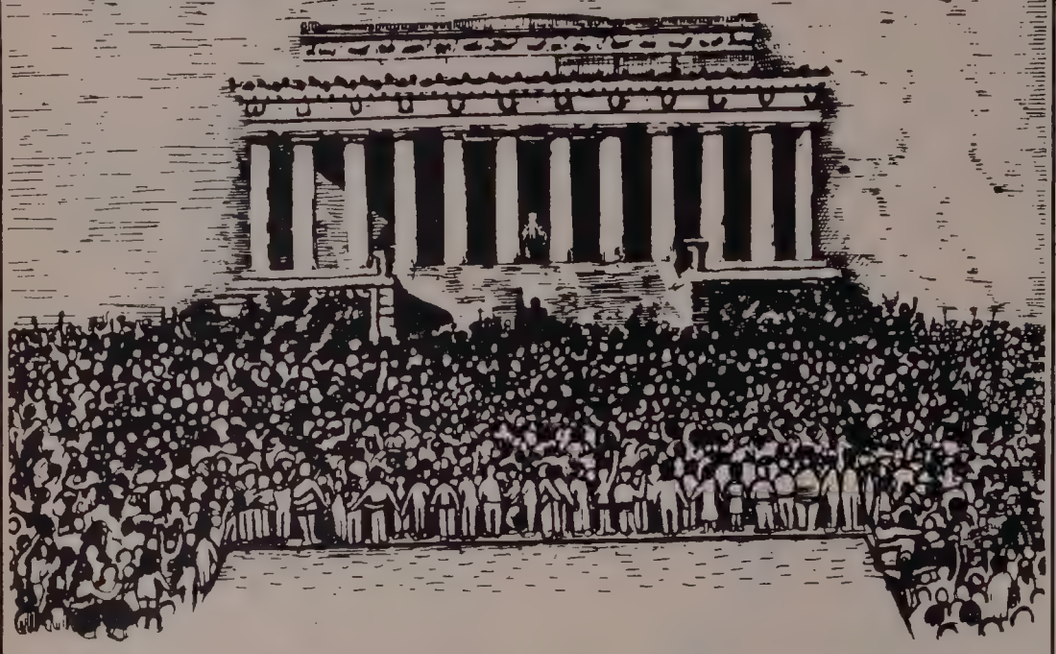

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course, NATO. For U.S. officials, these gimes helped globalize the Monroe I trine. As Sen. Tom Connolly said du the 1949 NATO treaty hearings, "The lantic Pact is but the logical extensio the principle of the Monroe Doctrine.

To secure Senate approval of the tr Secretary of State Dean Acheson insi that the United States would not re Germany or use NATO to prevent inte subversion in Western Europe. NA would not be a permanent alliance, he s pointing out that the treaty would ren in effect for only 20 years. And when as whether "substantial numbers" of troops would have to be sent to Europ fulfill its commitment to the new allia Acheson replied, "The answer . . . is a c and absolute 'no.'"

As it turned out, Acheson was wrong all four counts. Germany was rearme 1955, an act that prompted the forma of the Warsaw Pact by the Soviet Un the United States used NATO and o covert means to prevent anti-NATO po cal parties from coming to power in al countries; NATO became a permanent ance; and the United States assigned a "s stantial" number of troops—354,000 latest count—to NATO in Europe.

In the European context, the Mon Doctrine meant that the Soviet Un would not be permitted to interfere West European affairs, particularly in W Germany. As George Kennan, an archi of Monroe Doctrine diplomacy in the p war period, described it in 1946, U.S. p cymakers aimed "to carry to its logical c clusion the process of partition Germany] and rescue [the] western zo of Germany by *walling them off* aga eastern penetration and integrating th into [the] international pattern of West Europe." (Kennan's language was p phetic. The inter-German border was ev tually "walled off" by the Soviets in 19

During the war, U.S. and Soviet offic had agreed on the character of the i interstate system, the division of the wo into spheres, and the application of t own version of the Monroe Doct within their respective spheres. But they not agree on where the boundaries sho be drawn in Germany, Korea, China Vietnam. And until they could agree on division of these countries, the superp ers would be at odds. The conflict over allocation of superpower rights in th countries, Germany in particular, is w the so-called Cold War was all about.

For all intents and purposes, the C War began with the partition of Germ into East and West in 1948 and ended w *de facto* superpower recognition of C

n division and the subdivision of Berlin 962 following the resolution of the Cu- Missile Crisis. (According to former retary of Defense Robert McNamara, Cuban Missile Crisis was really a hori- ital escalation of the Berlin Wall Crisis previous year.) After this, the super- wers abandoned the attempt to adjust puted boundaries. In the interim, the su- powers recognized each other's spheres influence in Korea, China and Vietnam. Despite disagreement over particular ndaries, U.S. officials never challenged Soviet right to claim a sphere of influ- e, create its own regional military alli- es—the Warsaw Pact—or administer own version of the Monroe Doctrine in stern Europe because such behavior le- mized U.S. action.

During the first few years of NATO and rsaw Pact, each superpower could im that their alliances "protected" mem- countries from the other. But Europe- , East and West, soon discovered what tin Americans had long known: the nroe Doctrine "protects" them from eign intervention but also "permits" in- vention by their superpower ally.

In 1956, Europeans in both alliances dis- vered the dual meaning of U.S. and So- t Monroe Doctrines. The Hungarians rned that the Soviet Union could invade m with impunity. And the British and nch, who with the Israelis attempted to ze the Suez Canal from Egypt, learned t the United States would discipline its ies when they strayed from U.S. policy. a result of their 1956 experience, the nch began taking steps that would lead m out of NATO a decade later.

Since 1956, a number of other "allies"— Czechs in 1968, the Poles in 1981; the rks and then the Greeks in 1972, most ATO members during the intermediate- ge missile deployments in the 1980s, d the Danes this year [see "NATO Bul- s Denmark," *Nuclear Times*, July/Au- st 1988]—have discovered that the su- rpowers use NATO and the Warsaw ct to keep their allies in line.

The application of superpower Monroe ctrines to Europe has been more dra- tic for Soviet allies than for those of the ited States. NATO tanks have not rolled o Rome, Paris or Copenhagen, as War- w Pact tanks have in East Berlin, Buda- st and Prague, though Article 4 of the ATO treaty permits intervention in the ent of "indirect aggression," such as a mmunist electoral victory or coup. The ited States has not had to use tanks to cure its objectives because it can rely on llaborationist constituencies—indige- us right-wing political parties and mili-

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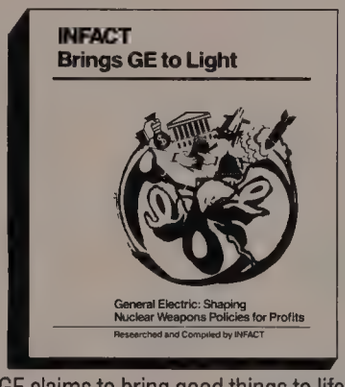

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tary elites who support the Monroe Doctrine—to support coups (as in Greece and Turkey) and block communist participation in governing coalitions (as in Italy). Because collaborationist constituencies are weaker in Eastern Europe, the Soviets have had to use military force to shore up their version of the Monroe Doctrine. This, however, may be changing. If Poland's suppression of Solidarity is any indication, indigenous collaborators may have become strong enough to make direct Soviet intervention unnecessary.

Not surprisingly, the Europeans have soured on the alliance system and have become increasingly less willing to "share the burden" of alliances that police their behavior. NATO itself admits as much. In its *Special Report*, NATO casts around for an "out-of-area" mission for alliance members, possibly in the Middle East. But "out-of-area" missions will not change the fact that the resolution of the "German Question" and growing European resistance to NATO's role as a factotum of U.S. policy has undercut its two primary missions.

There is some indication that the superpowers too are having second thoughts about the usefulness of their European alliances. Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev has said he might withdraw Soviet troops from Hungary and begin to give Warsaw Pact countries greater autonomy. (The Soviet version of "burden sharing" is already well advanced.) And if some agreement on reducing conventional military forces could be reached, the next U.S. president might do the same. The pursuit of America-first and Soviet-first economic policies may enable the blocs to devolve to a different set of political relations.

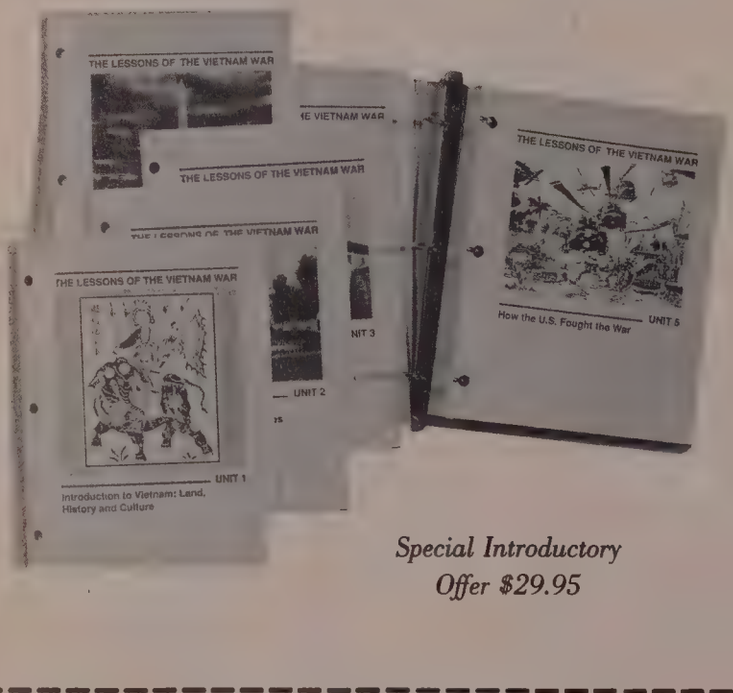
The danger is that if the United States and the Soviet Union push the "burden" of European defense onto the Europeans and withdraw, they may want to redeploy their own military forces to places where their interests are more directly "threatened." In the Middle East, for instance, the United States and the Soviet Union have both demonstrated a desire to combat fundamentalist Muslim regimes: United States in Iran; the Soviets in Afghanistan.

Despite this danger, the devolution of superpower alliances in Europe is, for the first time, a real possibility. And it is to this development that NATO critics, each in his and her own way, have responded. The devolution of NATO and the Warsaw Pact would be a positive step for two reasons.

First, NATO is expensive, both for the United States, which spends about $150 billion a year on NATO, and for its allies. The same is true for the Soviet Union Warsaw Pact countries, which find it d cult to support vast standing armies provide necessary consumer goods. If alliances were dissolved, money now ne lessly spent on standing-around mili forces could be used to assist much-nee economic development.

Second, the Monroe Doctrine, wh compromises the sovereignty of indep dent nation-states and encourages the g powers to act as meddling arbitrators, never a good thing. Neither was its ext sion to Europe, the Middle East and A It fueled a massive conventional and clear arms race and assisted the devel ment of conservative, collaborationist litical forces in Europe. If the alliances w broken up and the defense of Europe volved to Europeans, U.S. and Soviet M roe Doctrines would be effectively voked. Then Europeans could shape th destinies and the superpowers should c centrate on shaping their own.

The fact that writers from across the litical spectrum urge steps that would p mote these two developments sugg there is a real possibility to build an a bloc coalition. If anti-alliance forces alesce, then it may be possible to bury hatchet, which is NATO.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ESOURCES

Bibliography of Nuclear Age Educa-al Resources *by the Stanford Program nternational and Cross-Cultural Edu-n ($15.95, 254 pages, SPICE, 200 Lou ry Hoover Building, Stanford Univer- Palo Alto, CA 94305-6012, 1988).* comprehensive collection of informa-on peace studies lists hundreds of text-ks, curriculum materials, games and lations, books and articles on educa-l theory and other bibliographies. The rial listed touches on related themes, ading conflict resolution, nuclear onry, nuclear energy, U.S.-Soviet rela- and military spending. Listings are gorized for elementary, junior and se- high school, and college levels.

prehensive Peace Education: Educat-for Global Responsibility *by Betty A. rdon ($13.95, 120 pages, Teachers Col-Press, 1988).* A veteran peace educator npts to redefine peace education. She oses abandoning the "reform ap-ch"—which focuses on arms control nonviolent alternatives—and the "re-tructive approach"—with its emphasis global and national conflict-resolving tutions—and adopting a "transforma- approach, which would reject vio- at all levels of interaction. Reardon es that teachers should promote plane- stewardship and human relationships.

cating for Global Responsibility: her-Designed Curricula for Peace cation, K-12 *edited by Betty A. rdon, ($12.95 paper, 180 pages, Teach-ollege Press, 1988).* The lesson plans in collection were the result of a rigorous tion process. They describe educa-l objectives and activities and provide se outlines on a wide variety of topics.

e and World Order Studies: A Curric-a Guide *edited by Barbara J. Wien 95, 741 pages, World Policy Institute).* undergraduate and graduate courses ibed in this compendium will be use-o teachers who want to introduce new es and add interdisciplinary material to ing courses. Texts, outlines and read-ists are offered by professors in engi-ng, political science, American studies, tion, psychology, women's studies, in-tional relations and other fields. A re- edition (not reviewed by this author), d by Dan C. Thomas and Michael T. , will be available from Westview in Boulder, Colorado, in 1989.

The Lessons of the Vietnam War: A Modular Textbook *($39.95 for the teacher's edition, including 64-page manual plus 12 student units, Center for Social Studies Education, 115 Mayfair Drive, Pittsburgh, PA 15228, 1988).* This lesson plan presents an account of the anti-war movement and suggests ways to study the period. The curriculum will encourage critical thinking about U.S. participation in the war.

Peace Heroes in Twentieth Century America *edited by Charles DeBenedetti ($22.50, 276 pages, Indiana University Press, 1988).* This collection provides biographies of nine individuals who struggled for peace. Included are Jane Adams, who lobbied for mediation during World War I with the Women's Peace Party; Eugene Debs, Socialist Party presidential candidate in 1912 who was jailed in 1918 for lecturing against militarism; and A.J. Muste, who delivered a letter from North Vietnamese Premier Ho Chi Minh to President Lyndon Johnson asking for talks in 1966. College level students will find *Peace Heroes* a useful study in practical morality.

An Outbreak of Peace *by Sarah Pirtle ($9.95 paper, 386 pages, New Society Publishers, 1987).* A story about teenagers who set out to prove that promoting peace can be child's play. Threatened best-friendships, parents who disapprove, and boyfriend hopes and fears are all part of the tale. Winner of a 1988 Olive Branch Award, *Outbreak* is nicely illustrated by young artists from western Massachusetts.

Guide to Careers and Graduate Education in Peace Studies *by the Program in Peace and World Security Studies ($3.50, PAWSS Career Guide, c/o Hampshire College, Amherst, MA 01002).* The *Guide* provides an introduction to peace studies and lists internship programs and career opportunities in the field.

Peace Chronicle *published by the Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development ($30 individual membership, bimonthly, Center for Conflict Resolution, George Mason University, 4400 University Drive, Fairfax VA 22030).* This periodical contains news of conferences and courses, recent literature and media resources, and articles of interest to peace educators. □

Compiled and reviewed by Louise Seeley, an intern at Nuclear Times.

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ORGANIZATION NEWS & COMMENT

SANE/FREEZE

Bushwhacking

What do you think of when you hear the words "George Bush"? The voice of the invisible "yes man" coming from the Doonesbury White House? Or the determined young World War II Navy pilot featured in TV spots by independent PACs like "Americans for National Security"? Before this election is over, Americans will be saturated with shots of Bush addressing the United Nations, wearing his letter sweater at Yale, or, as one TV spot calls his days wildcatting in the Texas oil industry, "starting a small business."

What these images have in common is that they conceal and misrepresent Bush's role in national security affairs. That's why SANE/FREEZE is engaged in a massive campaign of voter education called "To Tell the Truth." The centerpiece of the campaign is a full-color brochure, backed up by a lengthy white paper on Bush's career.

Distributed by the thousands in key electoral areas, "To Tell the Truth" makes shocking reading. Some highlights:

- Bush has not only consistently opposed a comprehensive test ban during the Reagan administration. He also spoke against the Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1963, which was then opposed only by the fringe elements of conservatives and the nuclear weapons lobby.
- Bush has said he was "out of the loop" in the Iran-contra affair, but the documented record shows he sat through a dozen meetings where arms sales to Iran were discussed. Similarly, Bush has said he didn't know about the illegal contra supply operation in Central America. Yet when Eugene Hasenfus was shot down over Nicaragua in October 1986, the first U.S. official to be informed was not Oliver North, but Bush's national security adviser, Donald Gregg.
- It was Bush who broke tie votes in the Senate three times to support chemical weapons production, who voted in the Senate to increase Star Wars funding, and who cheerily described to journalist Robert Scheer how the United States could fight, win and survive a nuclear war.

"To Tell the Truth" is the gift to give to that special friend or relative who think Bush as basically a harmless preppie.

For a free copy of "To Tell the Tru write: SANE/FREEZE, 711 G Street, Washington, DC 20003, or call (202) 7100 for information on bulk orders.

PSR

Taking Democracy To Heart

The arms race, while never far from vot minds, has rarely eclipsed the economy an issue on which U.S. elections are cided. But recent polls by Americans T Security, however, suggest that Ameri voters are ready to think about issues national security in new and unortho ways. The hidden costs of the arms r economic problems at home, econo challenges from other countries and a se that the Cold War can end if we want i are all challenging long-held ideas ab security and military spending.

PSR chapters in many parts of the co try have been trying to raise public inte in such issues, believing that some co receive broad voter support at the ba box this November: a comprehensive ban, an end to the Star Wars program continuing deep cuts in strategic nuc weapons. PSR, as a 501(c)3 organizat (contributions to it are tax-deductib does not endorse candidates or take pa their campaigns. But members can and engage actively in non-partisan voter istration and voter education efforts.

Philadelphia PSR members, for exam are linking concern about the arms with public health and civic responsibi By training 100 medical student volunt to administer simple hypertension exam voter registration sites, the chapter ho to attract a thousand or more new vot The theme of the campaign, co-sponso by the League of Women Voters, is "T democracy to heart; improve your he and the health of the nation."

In California, a statewide voter edu tion campaign has been launched by and co-sponsors including the Lawyer's liance for Nuclear Arms Cont (LANAC); Architects, Designers and P ners for Social Responsibility (ADPSR);

hologists for Social Responsibility SR). The campaign focuses on the need direct our economy away from excess- military spending and toward urgent an and environmental needs.

a state that is home to major weapons ractors, the California campaign is vi- needed if the economic forces behind rms race are to be challenged success- . The campaign includes a series of page newspaper advertisements, radio ic service announcements, public tran- ls, op-ed pieces and press conferences, ell as a public education program in- ing 10,000 activists statewide. Both the ia and the public outreach materials available to groups in other states and be adapted for their use.

r information about the voter reg- tion/hypertension screening project, act Lucy Miller, PSR/Philadelphia, Market St. #508, Philadelphia, PA 4. To learn about the California Voter cation Campaign, write Shannon g, PSR/Los Angeles, 1431 Ocean Ave. B, Santa Monica, CA 90401.

AND

ple to People

s the end of a 10-day peace cruise, and ier WAND President Sayre Sheldon d hardly have asked for a more fulfill- ultural exchange. At the invitation of oviet Peace Committee, Sheldon had d down the Dnieper River, from Kiev dessa, along with representatives of 30 r American peace groups, activists 26 other countries and Soviet experts pics ranging from perestroika to what es after INF.

t the final act turned out to be the high point. Soviet leader Mikhail achev, who hours earlier had con- ed his summit with Ronald Reagan, ved Sheldon and other peace activists n unprecedented three-hour dialog.

was more like an American town ing than the formal event we'd ex- ed," said Sheldon. For her part, Shel- resented the Soviet leader with a peti- drafted by women on the peace cruise g that women be better represented in ymaking for nuclear disarmament.

eldon's participation in the May/June e cruise was part of national WAND's ing efforts to build ties between the ns of our two countries. Local ND chapters have also been part of efforts, sponsoring U.S.-Soviet friend- projects that range from travel and ange programs to joint arts projects.

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WAND awards an active member with a scholarship to join the Women's Journey for Peace, a citizen diplomacy tour of the Soviet Union's northern cities. Participants in the tour "stay where Soviet people stay, which allows for real person-to-person contact instead of superficial tourist interaction," says steering committee member Janet Anderson. The winner of the scholarship agrees to make a presentation based on the trip upon her return.

Salem, Oregon WAND is co-sponsoring a trip by a local soccer team to Simferopol, Salem's sister city in the Soviet Union. "It's an excellent opportunity to provide some citizen exchange on a younger, teenage level," says member Carol Schaafsma.

In Pennsylvania, the Lehigh Valley Action for Nuclear Disarmament provided the impetus for a student exchange between Lehigh Valley and the Soviet city of Minsk, a program which has won the official backing of the local school system. The group has also sponsored a popular photo exhibit featuring local residents' amateur photos of the Soviet Union.

In Birmingham, Alabama, and Orange County, California, WAND members are planning for the arrival of *Peace Child*, a traveling production featuring 15 American and 15 Soviet children, as well as 75 local children who sing in a backup chorus. "WAND and *Peace Child* are a perfect fit," says Orange County WAND Coordinator Jeanette Norton, "Saving the world for our children is WAND's purpose."

For more information, contact Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, 691 Massachusetts Ave., Arlington, MA 02174, (617) 643-4880.

ESR

Ethical Economics

When the California state legislature passed a requirement in 1987 that all high school seniors study a semester of economics, it prompted some California educators to take a look at what the seniors were likely to learn. "After looking at the materials currently available," said Bill Shepard, chairman of CA/ESR's Program Committee on Economics and Social Responsibility, "We felt they did not include the social context."

Shepard and other members of ESR's California chapter then began exploring how best to teach about the societal impact of economic policies. The culmination of their thinking to date was a May symposium, "Economics, Ethics & Education," attended by 200 economics and social studies teachers and cosponsored by the University of San Francisco, Working sets Money Fund and the Parnassus Fu

Robert Harris, economics consultant the California Department of Educati pointed the audience toward what termed the most "tragic" consequence any economic policy: no matter what choice, someone or some group is h Herbert Kohl, acclaimed educator writer, told teachers that students are ea to grapple with difficult economic choi His own high school class recently draf a new Bill of Rights that included such e nomic rights as the right to be fed.

Workshops were held to help teach develop teaching materials on such to as child labor in California history, yo people and the economics of mass me the economics of water use in Califor and on helping students research the fu ing of their own schools.

ESR/CA will spend the coming y developing a series of teaching units economics and social responsibility, collaboration with the California Netw of Economics Teachers and other e nomic consultants. Shepard hopes to the first unit published in the fall of 19

For more information about this a other programs, please contact Educat for Social Responsibility, Dept. NT, Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138, (6 492-1764.

ADPSR

Letter from West Michigan

It all started in the fall of 1987, when of us traveled to Chicago to meet wit delegation of high-ranking Soviet archite invited to the United States by Archite Designers and Planners for Social Resp sibility (ADPSR). We carried a message peace and international community, wh was read aloud at a farewell banquet. E member of our delegation presented e of theirs with a "Le Grande Vitesse" representing Alexander Calder's acclai sculpture in the Grand Rapids public pla

The meeting inspired us—four archite and a city planner—to get moving on formalization of a West Michigan cha of ADPSR. Within several months we adopted our bylaws and received appro from ADPSR national. We then set ou expand connections with local pe groups and within the professional c munity.

ADPSR/WM's projects to date have cluded a feasibility study for a daycare cility for the Grand Rapids YWCA an day-long "charette," co-sponsored by l neighborhood and business organizati

he City of Grand Rapids, to produce for revitalizing an eight-block urban along the Wealthy Street corridor.

early June, we joined Educators for il Responsibility and Physicians for So- Responsibility in cosponsoring a visit our Soviet citizens, brought to the ed States by the Center for US/USSR itives in San Francisco. Our guests, ida Turaeva, Anatoli Rahaev, Anna otkova and Yuri Alexandrin, joined us tour of Grand Rapids' civic, historic architectural sites—and a stop at the or's office for a friendly exchange.

Mitch Witkowski of ADPSR/WM s: "We are striving to enlighten our- s and to enrich our children's lives ugh peace consciousness. As we pro- ... let us remember to return to the that which she gives us—peace, se- y and eternal evolution."

r information contact ADPSR/WM, Tahoe SE, Grand Rapids, MI 49506, 942-0440. National ADPSR is at 225 yette St., New York, NY 10012, (212) 3756.

FSC
tlanta, inst Apartheid

ember South Africa? No doubt yes. since a news blackout imposed by the h African government last year, moti- g U.S. anti-apartheid activists has be- e a tougher task. "On TV, you see the ing in the West Bank and Gaza," says li Gcabashe, director of AFSC's South- Africa Program in Atlanta. In contrast, American people are no longer getting encouragement they once had from s of what's happening in South Africa." he spirited days of campus shanty- ns and sit-ins of two and three years may be over, but at Atlanta's AFSC e, Gcabashe and others are still keep- p the anti-apartheid struggle.

st March, at Atlanta's downtown Fed- Building, the group held a vigil for the peville Six, six black South Africans enced to death for allegedly murdering ack town councilman during a 1984 est riot. AFSC has supported the defen- s' appeals through the South African ial system, encouraging sympathizers rite both President Reagan and South an Prime Minister Botha asking for risoners' release.

mid-June, the group organized a h Africa liberation parade, culminating emonstrations at Atlanta's IBM tower the Coca-Cola headquarters. Both panies have refused to disengage, or completely sever, business links with South Africa, continuing to sell their products through South African affiliates.

AFSC Atlanta is also engaged in educational work that builds on the economic sanctions anti-apartheid activists won in 1987. Those sanctions—vetoed by President Reagan but then passed by a Senate override—prohibited new investments in South Africa by U.S. companies. A bill currently pending would prohibit all trade by U.S. firms with South Africa, banning both new and existing investments.

"We're encouraged" about the prospects for passage, says Gcabashe, pointing out that the House version of the bill has more than 120 sponsors. Getting it through the Senate will be more difficult, however. So AFSC has launched a letter writing campaign aimed at Georgia Sen. Sam Nunn (D).

"As the senior senator from Georgia and chairman of the Armed Services Committee, we want him to understand the necessity of stronger sanctions against South Africa," says Gcabashe.

For more information, contact Southern Africa Program, American Friends Service Committee, 92 Piedmont Ave. NE, Atlanta, GA 30303, (404) 586-0460. National AFSC is at 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102, (215) 241-7169.

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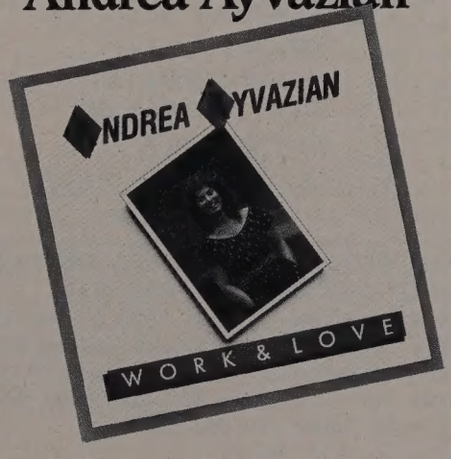

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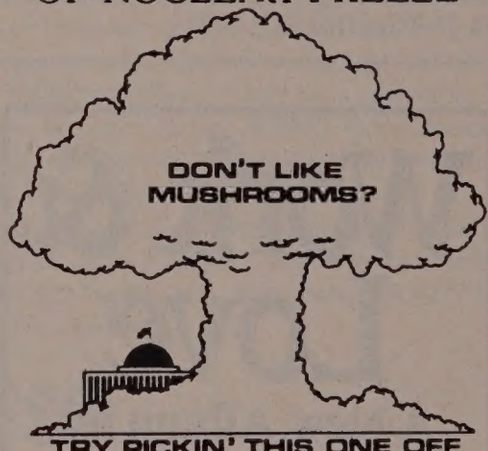

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CALENDAR

ptember

to 10/5, Southern United States. Rev. Dr. Buck Jones and author Jim Douglass are available for a ıern speaking tour to track the nt II missile trains. For informa- ınd scheduling *contact:* Gregory son, Fellowship of Reconcilia- 202) 882-7155.

to 11, Sydney, Australia. The International Peace Bureau, an organization with 60 member na-, will hold its annual seminar and al assembly with the theme ırming the Indian Ocean and Pa- Regions." *Contact:* Australian ition for Disarmament and e, P.O. Box A243, Sydney South, 2000, Australia.

5 Washington, D.C. Americans return to the United States after walking more 200 miles from Odessa to Kiev Soviets as part of the Interna- l Peace Walk. Three days of re- tation follow the Americans' ar- For more detailed information *ct:* International Peace Walk (202) USA-USSR.

7 Minneapolis. The Minnesota Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign will hold nnual statewide meeting. *Con-* Ross William (612) 339-5144.

Haven, Connecticut. Morton erin of the ACLU and Drew of Yale Law School will speak ıe topic "Election '88: The Con- tion, Domestic and International y." It is sponsored by New Ha- Civil Liberties Union and Peace Justice Action Center. *Contact:*) 624-0339.

a Fe, New Mexico. The Trinity m will hold an all-day confer- with the theme "Paths From ty: Dilemma of Nuclear Deter- e" at St. John's College. Dr. Elise ding is among the speakers. *Con-* Trinity Forum (505) 986-0709.

/18, Bloomington, Indiana. Ac- s from community and regional mament and peace and justice nizations will meet at the Third ual Indiana Conference on emaking. The theme of this 's conference, which is sponsored he Indiana Peace Network, is ning Momentum: Motivation Outreach." *Contact:* Tom Jones) 272-5716.

9 to 22, Washington, D.C. The War Resisters League, in conjunction with the Olive Branch Catholic Worker, will hold a "Disarm Bazaar," with leafleting, picketing, vigiling, and possibly civil disobedience at the Air Force Association Arms Convention and Exposition (Arms Bazaar), which will be held at the Sheraton Washington Hotel, Woodley Rd., NW. *Contact:* Paul Magno (202) 332-6247.

Bruce Pratt will sing at the Winsted Peace Fair on September 24.

23 to 25, Denver. The Institute for Peace and International Security will hold a nationwide working session on the topic "Restructuring U.S.-U.S.S.R. Relations: Beyond the Cold War." Participants at regional sites will interact through a nationwide satellite hookup. *Contact:* (617) 547-3338.

To 9/25, New Haven, Connecticut. "Let Us Speak of Freedom" is the theme of the Organizers Conference Against Apartheid, a gathering to formulate a united program of action. *Contact:* New Haven Free South Africa Coalition (203) 777-2756.

24 Winsted, Connecticut. Winsted Area Nuclear Arms Freeze Committee is having its seventh annual Peace Fair, with arts and crafts, folk music artist Bruce Pratt and the group Last Fair Deal, and speaker Randy Kehler, a founder of the freeze movement. *Contact:* Barbara Braunstein (203) 379-5262 or Joanne Hohmeister (203) 379-5265.

October

1 to 2, Las Vegas. The Nevada Desert Experience and other peace organizations will hold a Gandhi celebration featuring ecumenical worship at the Nevada test site, civil resistance actions and workshops on nonviolent movements. *Contact:* Denise Stephenson or Peter Ediger (702) 646-4814.

8 Connecticut. This is a statewide canvass day for collecting canned food—enough cans to equal the number of nuclear weapons in the U.S. arsenal. *Contact:* Connecticut Freeze Campaign (203) 522-7661.

14 to 15, Baltimore. A conference on common security at Gilman School will feature Randall Forsberg as keynote speaker. *Contact:* Helen Hollingsworth, Baltimore American Friends Service Committee (301) 366-7200.

20 to 23, St. Paul-Minneapolis. The Honeywell Project will be celebrating its 20th anniversary with a series of events: a reading with poet and author Grace Paley on October 20; civil disobedience at Honeywell and the Academy Awards of Dissent, with Robert Bly, Emile Antonio, and others on October 21; and panels about civil disobedience, law and the relation between politics and personal life; and a presentation of the movie *In the King of Prussia* on October 22-23. *Contact:* Honeywell Project (612) 339-3524.

24 Activities across the nation will mark United Nations Day/International Disarmament Day. *Contact:* Jim Muldoon, National UN Day coordinator (212) 697-3232, or write the United Nations Association of the United States of America, 485 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10017. Local churches will be celebrating International Disarmament Day as the last day of Peace with Justice Week. *Contact:* National Council of Churches/USA Peace With Justice (212) 870-2847.

27 to 30, Vierhouten, The Netherlands. Ten delegates from the United States will attend the Second International Conference on Taxes for Peace and War Tax Resistance. *Contact:* National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee (206) 522-4377.

November

11 to 13, Harvard University, Cambridge. The Institute for Media Analysis will sponsor an international conference with the theme "Anti-Communism in the United States," offering panels, workshops and plenaries investigating the influence of anti-communism on foreign and domestic policy. A film series and art shows will take place in October and November as well. For a full listing of events in the Boston area, *contact:* John Demeter, P.O. Box 2867, Cambridge, MA 02238, (617) 522-3553.

Ongoing

Chicago, The Peace Museum. *Third World Ties* will be the next special exhibit, running from September 11 to January 31, 1989. The multi-media exhibit, which deals with the effects of superpower expansion into the developing world, will feature works by the sculptor Mark McGinnis and original textile art from Central America. *Contact:* (312) 440-1860.

Los Angeles. *Peaceworks*, a weekly television series that appears on public access cable systems, explores ways to resolve conflict without violence. *Contact:* Christopher Toussaint (213) 666-9140.

Consider the Alternatives, weekly radio broadcast on 140 different stations. *Contact:* SANE/Freeze Education Fund (215) 848-4100.

Information Hotlines: Common Cause legislative hotline (202) 833-1319; Central American legislation (202) 543-0664; nuclear arms control (202) 543-0006; nuclear tests (702) 363-7780; peace and justice issues (202) 547-4343; Senate/House switchboard (202) 224-3121; South Africa (202) 546-0408.

Compiled by Kristin Matz

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QUEST FOR PEACE WRITING CONTEST

—THE CONTEST—

The Citizen Education for Peace Project at the University of California, Irvine is proud to announce the QUEST FOR PEACE WRITING CONTEST. The contest is intended to stimulate careful thinking and citizen action on a critical issue before our democracy: the achievement of a more enduring peace in the nuclear age.

—ENTERING THE CONTEST—

To enter the contest, the entrant must write and send a letter to a candidate for President of the United States of his or her choice, spelling out what actions a U.S. President should take both domestically and internationally to enhance prospects for lasting world peace.

A copy of the letter sent to Citizen Education for Peace Project along with a statement of when and where the entrant viewed the QUEST FOR PEACE BROADCAST SERIES shall constitute entry into the contest.

The QUEST FOR PEACE BROADCAST SERIES is a selection of ten videotaped interviews from the one hundred program QUEST FOR PEACE Series. The Broadcast Series includes twenty-nine minute interviews with Helen Caldicott, M.D., Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., Linda Smith, Leonard I. Beerman, Sheila Tobias, Harold Willens, Karen Mulhauser, Robert F. Drinan, S.J., and Elise Boulding. Common themes in the interviews are that the nuclear threat to humankind must be addressed urgently, and that an informed citizenry in a democracy can make a decisive difference in transcending current problems. These ten interviews are available at no cost to the sponsoring institution, group or individual for broadcast on local cable or public television.

—ELIGIBILITY AND OTHER RULES—

The QUEST FOR PEACE WRITING CONTEST is open to individuals of all ages who have watched some part of the Quest for Peace Broadcast Series. Faculty, staff and students (and immediate families) of the University of California, Irvine are not eligible to enter the Contest.

Entries will be judged upon their innovative and creative content, with the decision of the judges to be final. The judges for the QUEST FOR PEACE WRITING CONTEST shall include the faculty, staff, students and others in the Center for Global Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of California, Irvine.

There are two competitions

Entries must be postmarked by November 1, 1988, and addressed to:

CITIZEN EDUCATION FOR PEACE PROJECT
P.O. Box 6021
Irvine, California 92716-6021

—PRIZES AND AWARDS EACH CONTEST—

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Winners will be notified within two months of the closing date.
All entries will become the property of the Citizen Education for Peace Project.